00042643

Digitized with financial assistance from
Observer Research Foundation
on 17 May, 2019

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

TO

INDIA, CEYLON, THE RED SEA,

ABYSSINIA, AND EGYPT,

IN

THE YEARS 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, AND 1806.

Fac
19/5/15

BY

GEORGE, VISCOUNT VALENTIA.

42643 ac

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM MILLER, ALBEMARLE-STREET,

BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S.

1809.

HH-6-2

V

910.4
Val/Voy
42643

00042643

Vol. II

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Motives for Voyage to the Red Sea.—Departure from Mangalore.—Cape Guardafui.—Cape Aden.—Passage through the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb.—Arrival at Mocha.—Reception there.—Departure for the African Coast.—Ras Beiloul.—Island of Rackmah.—Saiel Abaiel.—Amphila.—Howakel.—Miséras.—Island of Valentia.—Arrival at the Island of Dhalac.—Visit to the Dola.—Mr. Salt's Journey to Dhalac-el-Kibeer.—Departure for Massowah.—Arrival there. page 1

CHAPTER II.

Arrival at Massowah.—Reception there.—Public Visit to the Nayib.—Private Visit to the Nayib.—Conversation with him.—Preparations for the continuation of the Voyage.—Disputes with the Captain of the Antelope, and consequent determination to return to Mocha.—Transactions at Massowah, and price of articles there.—Visit to the Island of Valentia.—Return to Mocha.—Desertions from the Ship.—Encouragement given by the Arab Government to European Seamen to become Mussulmauns.—Departure of Mr. Salt for India in the Antelope.—Voyage in the Fox Frigate to Aden.—Transactions there.—Return to Mocha.—Transactions there.—Voyage to Bombay. - - - - - p. 45

CHAPTER III.

Residence at Bombay.—Departure for Poonah.—Harbour of Bombay.—Panwell.—Campaly.—Tillegam.—Reception by a Deputation from his Highness the Paishwa.—Arrival at the British Residency near Poonah.—Account of the Dusserah.—Visit to the Paishwa—Visit returned.—Dreadful Famine.—Dinner at the Paishwa's country house.—Dinner given by the Dewan of the Empire.—Paishwa's Character.—Political Observations on the Mahratta Empire. - - - - p. 103

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Poonah.—Arrival at Chinchoor.—Visit to a supposed Incarnation of Gunputty.—History of the Founder of his Family.—Visit to the Rajah of Tillegam.—Account of the excavated Pagodas at Carli.—Visit to the Hill Fort of Low Ghur.—Visit to the Widow of Nana Furnese.—Return to Bombay.—Observations on Bombay.—Fortification.—Town.—Dock-yards.—Marine.—Trade.—Insalubrity of Climate.—Country Residences in the Vicinity.—Manner of living.—Establishment of the Bombay Literary Society.—Evils attendant on the cheapness of spirits.—Character of the Persees.—Embassies to Persia.—Visit to the Pagodas at Salsette and Elephanta. - - - - - p. 149

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Bombay.—Arrival at Mocha.—Visit to the Dola, and Bas Kateb.—Preparations for continuing the Voyage.—Private conference with the Dola.—Departure from Mocha.—Aroe Islands.—Sir H. Popham's Chart of the Red Sea.—Howakel.—Arrival at Dhalac.—Mr. Maxfield's Report of his Voyage.—Reasons for supposing Howakel Bay to be the Opsian Bay of the Periplûs.—Mr. Salt's Report of his Visit to Dhalac-el-Kibeer, Girbeshid, and Dobelew.—Captain Court's Survey of Dhalac.—Observations on Mr. Bruce's Account of it.—Arrival at Massowah.—Commercial arrangements.—Dispute with the Dola of Arkeko.—Departure from Massowah. p. 201

CHAPTER VI.

Observations on the Periplûs.—Massowah Bay the Bay of Adûli.—Valentia Island, Orine.—Monsieur Gosselin's Theory erroneous.—Asseez, Ptolemais' Theron.—Berenice in Foul Bay.—Departure from Massowah.—Arrival at Port Mornington and Wellesley's Islands.—Ras Asseez.—Botherem Bay.—Arrival at Suakim.—Transactions with the Natives.—Departure from Suakin. - - - p. 255

CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Suakin.—Lemi Bay.—Sheik Baroud.—Daroor.—Danger of the Panther among the rocks.—Loss of Anchors.—Recovery of them.—Salaka.—Mouse-trap Bay.—Gale of Wind.—Obliged to return to Mocha.—Observations on Macowar, probably the Berenice Panerysos of the Ancients.—Observations on Mr. Bruce's supposed Voyage from Cosseir to Macowar.—Conjectures respecting Myos Hormos.—Arrival at Massowah.—Visit to the Island of Valentia.—Return to Mocha. p. 303

CHAPTER VIII.

Description of Mocha.—Construction of the Houses.—Fortifications.—Garrison.—Parade on Friday.—Cavalry and Infantry exercise.—Jews' Town.—Arabian Women.—Use of spirits.—Appearance of the Arabs, and their food.—Government of Mocha.—Police.——Character of the Arabs resident in towns and Bedowee Arabs.—Their conduct to Christians altered lately.—Arabian Horses.—Climate of Mocha.—Mr. Salt's Tour to Moosa.—Observations on the formation of the Tehama.—Measures pursued in sinking a Well at Mocha.—Foundation of Mocha.—Establishment of European Factories.—Account of the trade in Coffee, Gum Arabic, Myrrh, Frankincense, Gold, Ivory, and India Goods.—The Fair of Berbera.—Possibility of penetrating into Africa.—Government of Yemen.—Account of the Imaum and Family.—Account of Sana.—Poligamy.—Rise and present State of the Wahabee power. - - p. 343

CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings at Mocha during my absence.—Massacre of the Officers of the Alert by the Arab crew.—Survey and condemnation of the Assaye.—Disputes with the Dola about Renegados.—Captain Court's Survey of the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb and the neighbouring Islands.—Incorrectness of Sir Home Popham's Chart.—Badness of the Arab servants.—Observations on the Factory.—Preparations for the Visit to Abyssinia.——Departure of Mr. Salt, Captain Rudland, Mr. Carter and their attendants for Abyssinia.—Arrival of Captain Barton from Suez.—Conduct of the Americans.—Incursions of the Wahabee.—Alarm at Mocha.—Distress of the Inhabitants.—Conduct of the Dola.—Arrival of two vessels under Seid Mohammed Akil from the Isle of France.—Their proceedings.—Departure from Mocha.—Visit to Ait.—Arrival at Massowah.—Return of Mr. Salt with the Baharnegash.—Reception of him on board the Panther.—Departure of the Baharnegash for Abyssinia. - - - p. 395

CHAPTER X.

MR. SALT'S NARRATIVE.

Arrival at Massowah from Mocha.—Negotiations with the Nayib.—Difficulties experienced in procuring Mules, Camels, &c. for our Journey.—Preparations for the Journey.—Passage from Massowah to Arkeko.—Transactions there. - p. 441

1275

CHAPTER XI.

MR. SALT'S NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

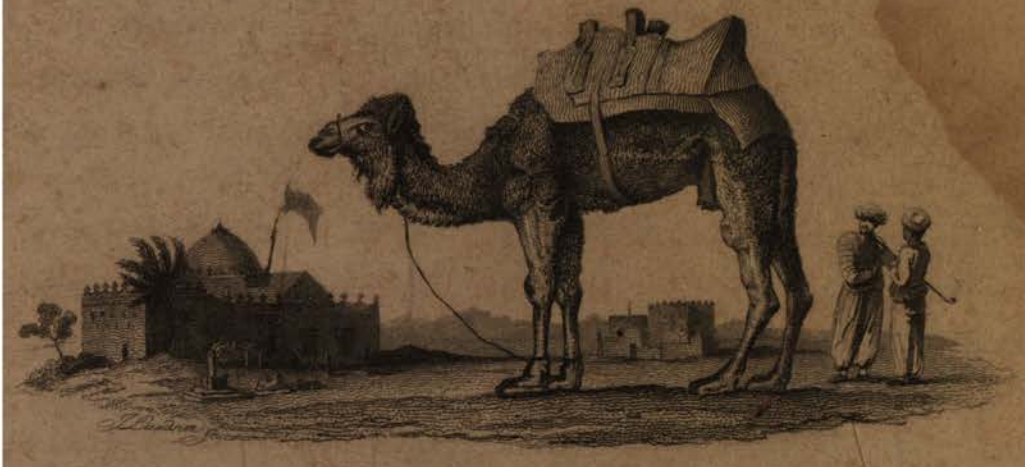
Departure from Arkeko to Dixan.—Numbers and Description of our party.—Illerbehey.—Shillikee.—Weah.—Hazorta Encampments.—Meet with Mules sent down from Dixan.—Hamchammo Sadoon.—Tibbo.—Illilah.—Foot of Taranta.—Passage over that Mountain.—Arrival at Dixan.—Proceedings at Dixan. - p. 467

APPENDIX.

No. I. Pedigree of the Paishwa. - - - p. 513
II. Duties proposed to be levied by the Nayib of Massowah. - 514
III. Extracts from Captain Court's Report on his return from Massowah. - 515

CHAPTER I.

Motives for Voyage to the Red Sea.—Departure from Mangalore.—Cape Guardafui.—Cape Aden.—Passage through the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb.—Arrival at Mocha.—Reception there.—Departure for the African Coast.—Ras Beiloul.—Island of Rackmah.—Saiel Abaiel.—Amphila.—Howakel.—Miséras.—Island of Valentia.—Arrival at the Island of Dhalac.—Visit to the Dola.—Mr. Salt's Journey to Dhalac-el-kibeer.—Departure for Massowah.—Arrival there.



A SCHECH'S TOMB IN ARABIA.

Published May 1.1809 by W. Miller. Albemarle Street.

CHAPTER I.

MARCH 13, 1804.—IT had always appeared to me an extraordinary circumstance, that if the western coast of the Red Sea were really as dangerous as the moderns have uniformly represented it, the ancients should invariably have navigated it in preference to the eastern coast; nor could my suspicions that a western passage existed be removed by the silence of the British officers, after a long continuance of our fleet in that sea. The evils which they had experienced from the want of water, fresh provisions, and fuel, pointed out indeed most strongly the importance of ascertaining, whether these articles were not attainable at Massowah, Dhalac, or the

adjacent islands, where, in former times, the Egyptian and Roman merchants were induced to fix their residence for the purpose of carrying on the trade with Abyssinia, and the interior of Africa. At Dhalac, Mr. Bruce has asserted, that three hundred and sixty tanks, which had been erected by the munificence of the Ptolemies, were still in a state of preservation to afford, with care, a supply of water, more than sufficient for any fleet which the British could ever have occasion to send into that sea.

The commercial advantages which might attend the opening of a communication with Abyssinia, appeared also worthy of attention; and a more favourable time for making the attempt could never be expected, than immediately after the British naval power had been so fully displayed on the shores of Arabia and Egypt, and when the trade with the interior of Africa had been interrupted in its usual channel through the latter country, first by the conquest of the French, and afterwards by the civil war between the Porte and the Beys, which had caused a perfect separation between the upper and lower provinces.

I confess also that I felt it as a national reflection, that a coast which had afforded a profitable and extensive trade in gold, ivory, and pearls, to the sovereigns of Egypt, should be a perfect blank in our charts; and that while new islands, and even continents, were discovered by the abilities of our seamen, we should have become so ignorant of the eastern shore of Africa, as to be unable to ascertain many of the harbours and islands, described by an ancient navigator in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.

During my stay at Calcutta I had the honour of frequently conversing with the Marquis Wellesley on the subject of the Red Sea,

and of stating to him my ideas and feelings; in which I had the happiness of finding that he fully concurred. At length I proposed to his Excellency, that he should order one of the Bombay cruizers to be prepared for a voyage to the Red Sea; and I offered my gratuitous services to endeavour to remove our disgraceful ignorance, by embarking in her, for the purpose of investigating the eastern shore of Africa, and making the necessary inquiries into the present state of Abyssinia, and the neighbouring countries. His Excellency approved of the plan, and it was determined that, in order to obviate any difficulties which might arise, from the commanding officer differing with me in opinion, with respect to the eligibility of going to particular places, he should be placed under my orders. The necessary instructions were immediately transmitted to Bombay, and I hastened my departure for Columbo, as it was desirable to reach the Red Sea as early in the year as possible.

When I arrived at Tanjore I received dispatches from Bombay, acquainting me that the Antelope cruizer would be at Mangalore ready to receive me, and convey me to the Red Sea in the beginning of February; at the same time I had letters from Mr. Lumsden, Chief Secretary at Calcutta, inclosing, under a flying seal, the proper orders to Captain Keys, to consider himself as under my command. At Madras I heard that he was actually arrived; yet from my servant's indisposition there, and the previous delay at Columbo, I was unable to reach Mangalore before the 8th of March. This was particularly unfortunate, as it precluded the possibility of my reaching Suez, previously to the change of the monsoon in the Arabian Gulf. It was however some consolation to know that the very heavy gales in that quarter rarely set in before June, by which time I hoped

to be safe on land, and that the sailing in unknown seas was probably safer when beating up, than when going briskly before the wind. As far as Mocha, we were certain of having the N. E. monsoon, though probably, on account of the lateness of the season, it would be only light, and we should be much baffled with calms, and for the remainder of the the voyage we knew we could take shelter in an harbour, and wait for fitter weather, should a gale overtake us. Admiral Rainier, whom I had the good fortune to find here, did me the honour of calling on me the morning after my arrival, with several of his officers: some of them had been in the Red Sea, from whom I had the pleasure of learning many circumstances, which tended to diminish any alarms that might have been excited by the accounts of former travellers; and they confirmed me in my determination of surveying the Abyssinian shore, by the admission of the fact, that, during the whole time our fleets were in the Red Sea, not one vessel had quitted the Arabian coast.

With Captain Keys of the Antelope, who called on me, I was much pleased, as his manners were perfectly gentlemanly; and the concern he expressed at the smallness of his vessel, and the consequent difficulty of accommodating me to his wish, induced me to suppose that I should find him inclined to do every thing in his power to make my voyage comfortable. I determined to go on board the Antelope the next morning: I found her to be a brig, quite as large as I expected, about one hundred and fifty tons, mounting twelve eighteen-pound carronades, and having on board forty-one Europeans, including officers, sixteen marines, and thirty lascars and servants. For these they had on board six month's rice and salt meat, with forty days water; of course there could be little room

left for my baggage. The cabin was of a tolerable size: rather more than one third had been partitioned off for me; the remainder served as a dining-room, in which the Captain and Mr. Salt were obliged to swing their cots at night. For myself, I was perfectly satisfied, but determined to lessen my baggage by sending part of my linen to England from Bombay. Captain Keys accompanied me on board the flag-ship to visit the Admiral, who paid me the honour of a salute: I undertook to convey dispatches for him to England.

On returning to Mr. Ravenshaw's, I instantly began my preparations for departure: these were soon completed, as well as circumstances would permit; and Mr. Salt having arrived, we got on board the Antelope by eleven o'clock at night on the 13th of March. By twelve every thing was embarked, and we weighed anchor for the Red Sea, bidding a farewell to India, after a residence of fifteen months. According to the power with which I was invested, I directed the Captain to proceed to Aden.

March 18.—We have been coasting along the shore with the assistance of the land and sea breezes, without being able to get out of sight of land. The weather has been sultry; our little vessel sailed ill, which was probably owing to the bad condition of her bottom, which was perfectly covered with barnacles, and her being deep in the water: she rolled and pitched much, but had one good quality—she obeyed her helm, and wore with facility. This is of the greatest importance when there is a necessity to tack frequently. The wind was directly against us. The shore that we passed was a bold one; the mountains which I beheld in crossing the table-land, were here completely visible. We passed several

islands of a rocky nature, and among others one strongly fortified by Tippoo, but for what purpose it would be difficult to conjecture as it affords no protection to shipping. Our latitude at this time, was 14° 27′ 22″ N. Mangalore is 12° 15′.

Till the 26th we had the wind inclining to the west, and consequently made little way. The calms had been frequent, yet the heat had never been unpleasant, and the sea had been as smooth as glass. We were on that day in long. 68° 40′ 15″, and had at length got hold of the N.E. monsoon. Our latitude was much the same as when we sailed, viz. 12° 1′ 37″. When it is so late in the season, it would be better to sail from Bombay, as the monsoon at that time still keeps close to the shore. As the vessel was lightened by consumption of stock, she sailed better. The delay was the less disagreeable, as it gave me time to prepare charts of the Red Sea from the logs we had procured.

The men caught a dolphin,* a most beautiful fish, generally from two to three feet long. When in the water it appears of a rich dark blue, or green, or golden yellow colour, according to the point of view in which it is beheld. On being caught, it changes rapidly. The body at first is chiefly orange, spotted with the brightest blue: the fins are green, and then blue. The dorsal fin, when the fish is dying, is of a dark green throughout. The ventral fins lie close to the body, where there is a hollow that partly receives them: these are of a bright gold-coloured orange on the outside; on the inside, when alive, bright blue; when nearly dead, a dark green. The anal fin, during life, is blue and light gold colour; at death, lighter, and silvery: the caudal the same. The pupil of the eye dark: the

* Coryphæna equisetalis.

iris yellowish gold colour. It has three rows of small teeth, separated by a groove in the centre. When dying, the blue tint, for a few seconds, sometimes covers the whole fish, and then settles in the blue spots only. Linnæus's description, as far it goes, is accurate. It follows the ship in company. In its belly was found the flying-fish. The Coryphæna hippuris is also called a dolphin by the sailors.

The dolphins on the 31st were about the ship in shoals. The men killed eight. We had one for dinner, and it was as good as an albicore. On the 30th we saw many sharks, one of which, seven feet long, the men caught. The following day the dolphins were still more numerous, and every mess had one.

The wind for the last five days had been extremely light, but we had been favoured by a current to the S. W. which enabled us to make a degree a day. The sea perfectly smooth. On the 1st of April the men killed nine dolphins. Long. 61° 59′, lat. 11° 52′.

April 6.—The current deserted us on the 2d, and the breezes became extremely light. We had plenty of dolphins; and several very singular species of sea-blubber floated by. One was a large scarlet mass, about seven feet long and two or three wide, a part of which was got on board; it consisted of a great number of distinct living substances, adhering to each other. Each was about four inches diameter, tubular, and closed at the ends. A circular thread of scarlet spots was twined in circles amidst the gelatinous substance. Another was about two inches long by one in diameter; partly hollow. It had a dark yellow spot and one red close to each other, at the lower extremity. It was covered with fine prickles externally, which, produced no smart on being touched.

April 10.—As we approached the land, the breezes became more light; the fish, less afraid of the ship's foul bottom than they would have been of a clean one, were in great abundance. With the bait of a cockroach, my servant caught a small fish of the genus Diodon, but not of the species described by Linnæus, though I think it is the one mentioned in Chambers's Dictionary under the name of Guamajacu atinga, and for which he quotes Piso's Nat. Hist. lib. V. cap. 16. The description perfectly corresponds, but the drawing given has no resemblance. Mr. Salt drew it and I stuffed its skin, which was thick and glutinous. It is covered with prickles, which it has the power of expanding when it blows out its body; the cavity of which is filled with a very large air-bladder, and a liver disproportioned to its size. Its length is about four inches: as we caught several, I conclude this to be its full growth. No injury follows the puncture of one of its prickles, though a juice exudes from the base, of a bright yellow colour, that permanently stains paper and other substances. It puts out two small tentacula from its mouth as it swims, and lives a considerable time out of water. Towards evening the wind began to come round to the southward.

On the 12th at day light the African coast was in view, bearing N. W. distant about eleven leagues. As we approached it most rapidly, by twelve we were only about three miles from Cape Guardafui. The Cape itself is not very high, but the land behind it is extremely lofty. It consists of rocky beds, one over the other, with gullies apparently formed by the rain. Not a vestige of vegetation was seen. We made it in 51° 10′ E. and 11° 50′ N. There was a considerable cross swell as we rounded the land. Our little

vessel was going seven knots, which I did not expect from her. We had during the whole of the last day a strong set to the south, which took us thirty miles. We coasted the land during the whole time. Mount Felix is united to the main land by a low sand: it is conspicuous, and cannot be mistaken. We were opposite to it after it was dark.

On the 13th a very pleasant breeze came on from the north of east. We steered W. and by N. straight for Aden, and passed the high land behind Cape St. Peter. The coast is very high and barren: it was still in sight at night, though a haze, which extended across the whole sea, concealed the base. The stars near the horizon were hardly visible. Several meteors, called falling stars, shot occasionally across the sky; but no aurora borealis had appeared during the whole voyage. A heavy dew fell all night. The sea was smooth, though we went at the rate of six knots an hour.

We had a very fine breeze during the whole night of the 13th, but no land was visible on the following morning. The sky was clear, and the water smooth. At twelve o'clock we had run one hundred and twenty miles in twenty-four hours.

At eight in the morning of the 15th a part of the African shore was in sight, distant about eleven leagues, which was as high as that on the opposite side. At one Cape Aden bore right a-head W by N $\frac{1}{4}$ N. distant eleven leagues. We went on till night, when it was so near, that we determined to come to an anchor. We passed the head land, and anchored at nine o'clock on the other side, close, as we supposed, to the town; but could not be certain, as no one on board had ever been there, and we had no directions respecting making it. The land sheltered us, and we had little motion.

At day light on the 16th we found no town was visible, and thought we had not got far enough; and that it lay beyond another head land, nearly W. accordingly we weighed anchor at six, and steered along shore. Cape Aden is a very lofty rock, on the top of which are several ruined towers. The bay we anchored in was a fine one, about six miles wide, and as many deep. On proceeding we found our mistake; that in which we anchored was Back Bay, and Aden itself was on the eastern side of the headl-and. The bottom of every bay was a sandy beach; beyond that ran a chain of mountains at a distance. I never beheld a more dreary scene; nor one that less accorded with the idea that might be formed of the country from the beautiful description of Milton: no "Sabæan odours" came off to gratify our senses, from the shore, nor did they ever exist there, but in the mind of the poet, as a more wretched country does not exist; for the myrrh and frankincense come from the opposite coast, though the Arabs were, and are still, the medium of conveyance to Europe.

It would have been a serious loss of time to have beaten back, and therefore I determined to go on, though much vexed at a mistake, which would prevent our having excellent water, instead of that which is to be obtained higher up, and is invariably brackish. Back Bay is the best watering-place, though it is five miles from the town: the only expense is three dollars demanded by the Dola, as I learned from Lieutenant Powell of the Wasp, who was there in 1803. In East Bay it is purchaseable, but at a high price. On the western side is a range of rocks extending out nearly as far south as the hill of Aden itself. The tops of these are singularly broken, and rise into Gothic spires in several parts: two of these have got

the names of Ass's Ears. Another bay is west of them, in size and appearance exactly like the former. Its western boundary is a range of rocks, one of which so perfectly resembles a funnel as to deserve that name: it can never be mistaken. The coast is shelving to the south of west. Before sunset the Cape itself was perfectly visible like a gunner's quoin, Cape St. Anthony being on our bow. This is not very high land. We kept at the distance of three or four leagues to avoid a shoal that extends out from it. The breeze continued from the eastward, and freshened as we advanced. At ten the island of Perim was in sight, and soon afterwards we entered the smaller straits which run between it and the land. We kept nearer the island than the main, with from eleven to six fathom water. The breeze was assisted by the tide, and soon brought us under shelter of the promontory. We anchored by twelve in smooth water, in defiance of a very strong breeze.

Before day on the 17th the small boat was hoisted out. My servant and Mr. Hall were sent on shore with their guns and dogs, in hopes of killing us some game. After an early breakfast Mr. Salt and I, attended by Mr. Hurst the midshipman, and four sepoys, went on shore to see the country, and collect shells. We landed on the beach, on which nothing grows but a species of salicornia. A ridge of broken hills, detached from the Cape, rises about a mile from the shore: this we determined to ascend. The way up was craggy, but the heat of the sun was tempered by the strong breeze, and the fatigue was relieved by discovering several curious plants, and some mineral specimens. From the summit we had an excellent view of Cape Bab-el-mandeb and the island of Perim. A bay to the eastward of the Cape extends inwards a considerable way: the

land between that and the westernmost, in which the ship lay, is perfectly flat, and a dry salt sand: if the sea were to rise only a very few feet it would cover it. Already part of it is a lake of salt water. Accidents have occurred from mistaking this east bay for the strait; a circumstance that can never happen, if it should be only observed that Perim is perfectly flat, which ought to be kept close on the larboard side; whereas Bab-el-mandeb hill is the loftiest land in the neighbourhood. The hill on which we were rises suddenly out of a plain of sand; no others are near it.

The shooting party were at the bottom of the hill, from which we soon descended, and joined them. They had seen several antelopes, and had wounded one, but it escaped. They had killed some partridges, and also purchased some milch goats very cheap, and remarkably fine. On reaching the sea shore we found a great many Arab fishermen, with a profusion of mullets, and other fish. These we purchased and sent on board, to procure, in return, a supply of water, none of which was to be obtained on the land. The boys went in amongst the coral rocks, and procured a few shell-fish, that were fine of their kind. It was still early, and as the breeze continued, we determined to walk along the shore to point Bab-el-mandeb. Between us was a small creek communicating with the salt-water lake, now nearly dry, over which we were obliged to pass in the boat. As we advanced, it was less pleasant, from the air being frequently heated by the sand over which it passed, which gave it all the effect of the hot winds of India in scorching the skin, and producing intense drought. Dr. Macghie, who had accompanied us, and Mr. Salt bathed, from which they suffered considerably, but not so much as the two officers of the

ship, who, from being more exposed, were soon of a perfectly red colour.

On the beach is the tomb of a Mussulmaun saint, which, though a heap of ruins, is much visited. The extreme point is low, but rocky. We procured from its sides several shells, but none of value. It was now three o'clock, and we were all heartily fatigued. We took to our boat, but the breeze had so freshened that nothing but the shelter of the land prevented its being difficult to get on board. I am convinced that the Straits are not above three miles wide. We all took the precaution of anointing our faces; those who had had their bodies exposed, suffered severely; we, who were more prudent, escaped with losing the skin off our noses. The bay in which we had anchored was most excellently defended by the island and promontory, and is much frequented by vessels that are too late to reach Mocha by day-light. Behind the hill, on which we were, is a wood of stunted mimosas, which seems of considerable extent, but would soon be exhausted, were Perim to be inhabited. We were too far out, and not land-locked, for some mountainous islands were visible through the Straits, composing part of the cluster called the Seven Brothers. The high land of Africa could be seen over the island, reaching up towards the north. This is, according to Bruce, the myrrh and frankincense country.

On the 18th before day, the anchor was up, and we set sail. At sun-rise we could perceive a ship enter the Straits and follow us. We had no doubt that this was the Fox frigate, Captain Vashon, as no other was likely to be in these seas, and Admiral Rainier had informed me that we should meet her here, as, at the

request of the Bombay government, he had directed her to proceed to Mocha, to convoy to India the trade from that place. The breeze continued extremely fresh, as we sailed along the Arabian shore: the coast itself is low land, but the chain of mountains was seen, though with difficulty, from the haze, extending N. at about thirty miles from the shore. At ten, Mocha was visible: we were obliged to keep out, to avoid a dangerous shoal, till the great mosque bore E. by S. when we stood right in for the town. We anchored at a distance of about four miles, in little more than four fathoms. The wind was very fresh, and the swell, though broken by the shoal, was considerable. We saluted the town with three guns, which were answered by one. The Fox soon afterwards came in, and anchored about a mile to the N. W.; she could not get more to the S. on account of the wind. A fishing boat came off with fish; it was small and narrow, and the people nearly naked; the sail was cloth, and held by the hand. It went with great velocity, and very close to the wind. The fish was excellent.

Captain Keys wrote to Mr. Pringle, acting Agent to the East India Company, to inform him of my arrival. Mr. Pringle came off, while we were at dinner, to invite me to the Factory. He told me that he had notified my arrival to the Dola, or Governor, and had enquired, in case I visited him, how he would receive me. To this he answered, that he was not well, and would not move from his seat. Mr. Pringle added, that as the meeting him at the door had been insisted on by General Baird, and had been complied with, he could, on no account, advise me to visit him in any other manner. I assured him that I should be entirely guided by him, as my only wish was to act in the manner that would be most conducive to the

VIEW FROM THE FACTORY AT MOCHA

advantage of the English character; and that I considered him as the best judge on such an occasion.

After dinner, attended by Mr. Pringle, Captain Keys, and Mr. Salt, I quitted the Antelope, and was saluted with seventeen guns. These the Dola chose to take as a compliment to himself, and returned it with one. We were so conveniently anchored, that the S. W. wind was a side one, both for embarking and disembarking. We were soon at the pier, and proceeded immediately to the factory. The first thing I did, was to send to the Dola, assuring him that the seventeen guns were not intended as any compliment to him, or the state, as the Antelope would certainly never again salute the town, till the former guns had been returned: to this I received no answer.

May 9.—More than a month having been consumed in the voyage from Mangalore, it was thought advisable to lay in a sufficient supply of water and provisions, before we proceeded to a coast of which we had no positive information. This was not completed till the 8th of May, when the Antelope was reported by Captain Keys to be ready for sea. During my stay at Mocha, I resided at the British Factory, where Mr. Pringle did every thing in his power to make me comfortable. He has filled this situation, since the departure of the British armament, to the satisfaction of the Bombay Government, and is very well acquainted with the Arab character, and the trade of the Red Sea. From him I received much interesting information; but, as I was unfortunately obliged, on a future occasion, to make a much longer stay at Mocha, I shall defer laying it before my readers, till I come to that part of my travels.

I was painfully surprised at learning from Mr. Pringle, that the idea of examining the western side was so disagreeable to Captain Keys, that he had applied to him to allow him a room at the factory, till he could procure a passage back to Bombay, as he was determined, in consequence of ill health, to give up the command to his first officer. Mr. Pringle, at my request, pointed out to him in such strong colours the consequences that would ensue, that he abandoned his intentions; but an impression of anxiety was left on my mind, which by no means diminished the evils necessarily attendant on a voyage of discovery. I, however, determined to execute the business I had undertaken, in defiance of any surmountable obstacle, and therefore began to make every necessary enquiry respecting my intended route.

I discovered that a regular communication existed between Mocha and Massowah, and between that place and Suakin; that Massowah was by no means the unsafe place which Mr. Bruce represented it to be in his time; and that pilots could be procured for the whole way. As, however, the upper part of the voyage was to be performed through very narrow straits, and at a time when the N. W. winds were blowing strong down the gulf, I thought it would add greatly to our safety, to hire a country vessel, called a Dow, to go a head, and show the way. This would also enable me to visit many islands which the Antelope might not be able to approach. A dow was therefore hired for four hundred dollars, to go to Dhalac, Massowah, Suakin, and up to the latitude of the river Farat, where we meant to end our observations, and make the best of our way to Cosseir. I hired also an Arab boy of the name of Hyder, as an interpreter, till the Antelope returned. He spoke

English tolerably well, and bore a very excellent character. The wages he asked were six dollars per month. I intended to have sailed on this day, and I dined on board the Fox, on my way to the Antelope, but a proposal from Captain Vashon made me alter my intention. This was, that if I would stay till the morrow, he would accompany us to Jibbel Teir and Dhalac. The pleasure of his society, and the use of his boats, were inducements too powerful to be resisted; the agreement was therefore made.

May 10.—It being tolerably calm by six o'clock, I quitted the Fox, where I had slept, and went on board the Antelope. Our pilot was on board, and had a boat astern, which we were to tow. Our dow was ready, and had another. To my very great surprise, I now learned, through the medium of Hyder, that the pilot knew nothing of the way from Jibbel Teir to Massowah; that the usual way was stretching across to the Abyssinian coast, and working up it to Dhalac. Captain Keys felt himself incapable of conducting the vessel through an unknown and intricate sea, and consequently all idea of Jibbel Teir was abandoned. The only inconvenience was respecting Captain Vashon. As we were under weigh, I could not go on board the Fox with any comfort, owing to the heavy swell. We however ran the brig so close to her, that our main top sail caught in her yard, and was rent. I told him where we were going, and our reasons. He answered he should go the old way by Jibbel Zeighur. We could say no more, and separated. He waited a little for a shore boat, and then made sail to the northward, whilst we stretched right across rather to the south of west. The wind was very fresh, as usual, from the S.E. with a considerable swell. The Abyssinian shore was soon in sight right a-head, which the pilot said

was Ras Beiloul. This, according to Niebuhr, is the name of a town and district.

Our pilot seemed a sensible old fellow, and I was happy to find that he was an inhabitant of Dhalac. He expressed great pleasure at meeting Mr. Macgie, the surgeon, whom he had known before. He had been much employed by the English, when at Perim, and had purchased a boat with the money which he had obtained from them. He gave his directions clearly; and when they heaved the log, told them that it was not necessary, as he knew where he was, and there was plenty of water. We did not however choose to trust him. As we got nearer the African coast the wind became more moderate. We now perceived a lower point, stretching from Ras Beiloul, which the pilot said was Ras Firmah. It is the most easterly point. Nearly south of it, and close to it, is an island, Saiel Beiloul. At three we closed in with the land, and anchored about three miles west of a head-land, which the pilot called Ras Bunder Beiloul. Like a true pilot of Mr. Bruce's description, he gave orders to anchor so suddenly, that it was impossible to obey, and, consequently, we were carried farther from the shore than we meant; however, at a mile and a half from it we had a sand and mud bottom at thirteen fathom. A chain of islands and rocks had continued the whole way to the north of us, the largest of which the pilot called Jibbel Anish, but which must be the Jibbel Azroe of the charts.

The bay we now entered is of very great extent, and excellently defended from the south winds. The water was smooth, though strong gusts came over the hill. The width of the channel, opposite to Mocha, proved to be less than I conjectured from the

view of the Abyssinian land when there. I did not lose any time in sending off my servants in the pilot's boat to the shore to look for shells. The people bear a bad character; but probably the accounts of their ferocity are exaggerated. Our pilot offered to go to the village, which he said was beyond the hills. The whole coast had a black, barren appearance, except where it was broken by white sand.

After dinner Mr. Salt and Captain Keys went on shore in the boat, and took with them the lead line. They found, contrary to Mr. Bruce's assertions, "that there was no anchoring ground on the Abyssinian shore, and that you might have your bowsprit over the land without any bottom astern," that the land gradually shallowed to seven fathom within a quarter of a mile of the shore. They found an inner bay perfectly defended, except to the north. A strong gust of wind prevented their entering to sound it. It was about five miles round. Under a stone were lying a net and iron head of an harpoon, but they saw no native. A few mimosas and herbaceous plants were all the vegetation; but as yet I have not been able to discover Mr. Bruce's Absinthium. My servant procured some beautiful specimens of the Neritæ. Many dead shells showed the riches beneath the sea, but, as I had no diver, I could only wish for them. The seamen caught several cat-fish, as they call them.

May 11.—We got under weigh at six, and steered N. N. W. directly across the Bay, which, as it was clear, appeared of a magnificent extent. It could not be less than twelve miles deep, and about thirty from one head-land to a large island, which formed the other extremity. In the bottom the land had a very singular appearance; large masses being perfectly flat, and, near three others

of a conical figure. It blew fresh with a considerable swell. By twelve we were across, and discovered an archipelago of islands and rocks around the island above mentioned, which the pilot called Rackmah. He informed us that there was a river, and very civil people, where every article was to be procured. As this was to me a very interesting assertion, I was greatly pleased by Captain Keys proposing that we should bear up and examine into the truth of it. At half after twelve we did so; and with regular soundings as we approached the land; at length cast anchor under the lee of the island, in four and a half fathom, with a hard sandy bottom. I asked the pilot if he could persuade the natives to come down to us, and I would make them some presents. He said, no, they would meet us on the beach, but would never come on board. This suspicion could not have originated without cause, and I fear that they, or their neighbours, have experienced ill treatment from European vessels. We saw several groves of trees, which made us hope the pilot had not deceived us.

Mr. Salt wished to go to the village, which was at some miles distance up a bay. He was accompanied by Mr. Hurst, the midshipman, and Hyder as an interpreter. I went in the boat to the island to examine it, and was attended in another boat by a Naig and three sepoys, my servant, and some lascars. We found an excellent landing-place about a mile and a half from the ship. No shells, that were new met our notice; we therefore ascended the hill, which was composed of a blackish brown stone that looked as if it had been burnt. Vegetation was nearly annihilated. I saw a Salicornia, an unknown shrub, and a species of Indigofera, of which I collected seeds. On descending to the opposite shore, I found the

H.Salt del.

J.Hamlet Sculp.

VIEW FROM RACHMAH.

green trees I had observed to be a species of Rhizophora that covered the beach. Some flamingos were seen, but too far distant to be reached with the gun. Two natives, who lived on the island, were brought to us by the report of a shot: they seemed not to be afraid, and were very civil. They understood a little Arabic, and had not the woolly head. My people went to their hut, and procured from them some turtle. They seemed to be there merely for the purpose of catching them: they had no boat. Not expecting that I should meet with any inhabitants, I had nothing with me to give them; but being unwilling they should go unrequited, I wrapped my hankerchief round the young boy's head, which was shaved all over, except a tuft above the forehead. We found that a sandy bar extended from the island to the main, and formed one side of the bay; the other islands above mentioned were beyond it, and, at a distance, they looked as if in a line with it. The passage is about two miles across, with shallow water.

After coasting a rocky head-land, which at first we had supposed an island, we proceeded to a third, which was likewise connected by a sandy bar, and formed altogether a most excellent bay for small vessels. We here procured a few good shells, and discovered the tomb of a native chief, around which had been set up a circle of stones. At one end were the bones and shells of several turtles, half burnt. In the middle were several drinking vessels: one was an English China sugar bason. We found a second tomb nearly similar, and were again informed by some of the boatmen, that this belonged to a chief. As these islands have no names among the pilots, I gave it that of Burial Island. I did my best to procure the native names, as it might be of use to future navigators; and where-

ever I succeeded, I have, to the best of my spelling, preserved them. On the northern side were some excellent oysters fastened to the rock: their shells were of a fine purple at the edges, and by no means inelegant. Soon after it was dark I got to the ship: there was a considerable swell, which rendered it by no means pleasant, and the wind was right against us. The island we first went to is by far the largest in the group, and forms the north-eastern point of the bay. It consists of two hills divided by a low sandy plain; the highest is to the N. W. In no part is it more than two miles and a half wide. Its latitude 13° 50″ N. Long. 42° 10″ E. To the eastward every thing is clear, and it may be approached very close. Mr. Salt had, as we perceived from the ship, gone several miles up the gulf between Burial Island, and another lying to the northward of it. As the wind was right against him, we did not expect him to return soon; but our anxiety was removed by perceiving his boat before it was quite dark. He arrived at ten completely fatigued, and without having been much gratified. The river had vanished, though certainly in the rainy season torrents had run to the sea, of which he perceived visible marks. At present there were only two wells about 60 yards from the sea: the water of the nearest was as bad as the Mocha water, that of the farthest was better, and in tolerable quantity. He met with no village, but saw three men, with a numerous troop of camels, and two flocks of sheep: the natives were extremely civil, offered him water, and willingly exchanged a fine sheep for some tobacco, refusing a dollar that was offered. They had driven their animals down to the water, and were returning to their habitations at some distance in the interior, but they objected to the party's going thither. They wore crooked knives,

like the Arabs, by their side, and had spears lying at the wells. They knew the old pilot, and shook the whole party by the hand, without expressing the least fear. They had curly black hair, drawn out into points in every direction. There was plenty of the mimosa close to the water side. The swell continued all night, and the heat was most oppressive.

12th.—We were under sail by six, our dow preceding us. We continued coasting along the land, which receded considerably to the west. At first we had soundings, but afterwards none with 15 fathom. We kept about twelve miles from land: a great many islands and rocks were seen, none of them so far out as we were. At twelve we were opposite to one which the pilot called Saiel Abaiel. Its long. is 42° 10″ E. lat. 13° 50″ N. It is impossible to sail along a safer coast than this: not a sand-bank has appeared, and the rocks are all close to the land. The wind became light from the eastward: during a part of the night it was calm. We cast the lead, and had bottom at 37 fathom, with a current carrying us somewhat to the north. We kept all night nearly the same distance from the land, with regular soundings from 37 to 40 fathom.

On the 13th we had variable winds.—At twelve a pleasant breeze: we were then 14 miles from shore, with 21 fathom water; the country hilly and barren; lat 14° 26″, long. 41° 38″ 30′. We continued coasting along shore till evening, when we came so near as three miles and a half to a low point that advanced beyond the mountains. It shoaled gradually till we anchored in seven fathom, with a sandy bottom. It was uncommonly sultry in the night: the wind for a short time at south. We discovered that we had anchored off a low cape called Ras Kussa, whence the land runs rapidly to

the westward; we make it by computation in lat. 14° 34″ N. long. 41° 23″ E.

May 14th.—We weighed anchor at five with a light breeze directly in our teeth, so that we were obliged to tack off and on. In the morning we saw two dows, which met us. The bank from the head-land continued a considerable way out. At eleven o'clock we had 21 fathom 9 miles from shore; but the tack before, when six miles from shore, we had only 6 fathom. The immediate beach was low land, and a great haze hid the mountain from our sight. At twelve we were in long 41° 13″, lat. 14° 41″. At six we anchored in six and a half fathom, sand, off a low black rocky point, near which the pilot affirmed there was a well of fresh water. He also said that these rocks extended to the depth of 5 fathom. A low island bore by compass N W $\frac{3}{4}$ W. The night was extremely sultry, and the water smooth. The coast was low, and the haze continued so great that we could only see the tops of the hills beyond it.

May 15.—We weighed anchor at four, the wind right ahead, but it soon came round. We anchored at twelve in seven fathom, to give the pilot an opportunity of getting some articles he wanted from a village which he said was near us. Further on there is a bay, formed by the main-land, and a chain of islands to the N. and W. They called them Ras Amphila, Bunder Amphila, and the Islands of Amphila.* Mr. Salt and Captain Keys went on shore on the island, which is uninhabited: Mr. Salt brought me back some seeds, one of which was a very beautiful purple icosandrous plant, with succulent leaves. He found the island to be about a mile broad, by three long, perfectly flat and sandy. It was thickly covered with a

* That nearest us they called Kuddo; but I believe they often gave us false names.

low shrub and herbaceous plants, among which was the Portulaca officinalis in abundance. They saw several snakes, which the Abyssinians wanted to catch. The dow's people brought me several shells of the same kind as I had procured at Mocha. The pilot boat did not return all night. We saw a dow round the island, and enter the strait beyond the point. The night was rather cooler.

After we had weighed anchor on the 16th, the pilot arrived, and brought us some sheep. He asserted this to be a place of some trade, which was confirmed by the appearance of several dows. We kept without all the five Amphila islands, which were equally flat and sandy, raised only about ten feet above the water, and without a single tree on them. The shore stretches out rapidly to the westward, is low, but backed by lofty hills, of whimsical forms. Some high trees grew on the water's edge. As we coasted along, by the assistance of a kind of sea breeze, it was extremely pleasant. At twelve our lat. was 14° 52″, long. 40° 58″ 45′. We passed Ras Ratta, which is a very conspicuous piece of land, and of a singular form. We find all the charts of the coast extremely incorrect. At three or four leagues distance, when you are without every island, it is impossible to have a coast more free from every danger. This day we had from about ten to fourteen fathom. Late in the evening we passed two remarkable head-lands, which extend considerably from the shore, and which I conceived were islands. Several rocks were between them, and the usual line of the main: the pilot called them Ras Sarbo and Ras Rorah. A lofty island ahead appeared faintly at sun set. The pilot cast anchor off an island which lay in the bay formed by the head-land. It was low, and perfectly flat. The soundings were unequal, from sixteen fathom

suddenly shoaling to ten; but as they afterwards continued regular at fourteen till we anchored, I conceived there was some error. The night was immoderately sultry.

On the 17th we did not weigh till six, as there was not a breath of air till the sea breeze set in, which has hitherto invariably been the case about nine. We passed the island looked for by the pilot; he called it Howakel. It is lofty, rugged, and about nine miles in length. Off the north of it are three low sandy islands. The coast here again began to approach them, from which at one time it had apparently been three leagues distant. In the evening we saw four small islands to the eastward, distant five leagues: the pilot called them Miséras; of which the curious name of the Great and Little Miseries, as laid down in Mr. Apres de Menonville's chart is probably a corruption. We came to anchor about six o'clock between the main and an island, which, from the pilot's considering it as an important mark, we called Pilot's Island. The sky to the N. W. was cloudy, and the sun set behind a dense body of clouds. This the pilot said denoted a S. W. wind; and he was right. It blew rather fresh till ten o'clock, when it came round to the E. of N. and was exremely sultry.

On the 18th we were not under sail till six, when, for the first time, we kept within the islands. As the channel was narrow, and the wind against us, our tacks were but short. The channel is not above a mile wide, but the water is ten fathom and upwards. Pilot's Island is small and woody, has two spits of sand extending parallel to the shore for a considerable distance, one at each end; it is distant from the main three miles, and every danger is visible. The sea breeze changed the north-west monsoon a little in our favour, so that for

some time we ran along shore. However, we could not get a sight of Dhalac in the latitude, and nearly in longitude in which Mr. Bruce placed it, viz. lat. 15° 29″, long. 40° 15″ 30′; yet he says it is visible at the distance of nine leagues, which is in itself impossible, as he admits that the land is low. I began to fear that he had invented much in his travels. The soundings were regular the whole day. We passed within several islands, keeping close to the shore, which was flat, with gentle acclivities beyond, covered with wood; and farther off, the lofty mountains of Abyssinia appeared nearly hidden in the haze. At four we came to anchor within a mile and a half of the land. In fishing from the ship, the hooks caught on some dark brown pieces of coral, from the holes of which issued a profusion of living animalculæ: each was nearly brown, about a quarter of an inch long, with a black head. I put a specimen several times in water, and they extended themselves directly: when out of the water they did not retire, but hung close to the sides, one over the other. We also caught a very large specimen of the pearl muscle, with a piece of madrapore growing on it. The night was as sultry as ever. We passed a vessel this day.

On the 19th we sailed at four: the north-west wind still continued sufficiently strong to be pleasant. We had to work between an island that was ahead of us, and the main, in a passage about three miles wide. The channel was nearly as broad, as it was deep water close to the main land. We were not through till eleven, when we bore away along the Abyssinian shore. We passed another vessel this day.

A great deal of trade seems to be carried on at Massowah. The coast also seemed tolerably full of inhabitants. Last night there

was a fire on the shore. Our pilot declared he could not reach Dhalac this day: he wished to anchor off an island to the west of us, which forms a bay, where he said large vessels may anchor in safety. The people, he declared to be very good friends of his, and very civil. We entered it in a S. S. W. direction, and anchored off a very picturesque island. The bay fully answered the pilot's description: it is eight or nine miles deep and about seven miles wide. A sand bank, which runs off from the island forms its N.W. defence. Behind that is another bay. The water is deep. We anchored in seventeen fathom, and at only three quarters of a mile from the shore. As no description of the island has ever been given, and we were, probably, the first Europeans that had visited it, we called it Valentia. Mr. Salt went on shore to take the different bearings, from which we have formed a plan of the harbour &c.; my servant went with Hyder in the dow's boat to procure shells. The men did not choose to assist, so that I got very few: from these I was convinced that had I had proper assistance, it was the best spot for the purpose at which I had hitherto touched. Mr. Salt was accompanied by two of the inhabitants to the summit of the hill: they were very civil. The water we got from a tank was good, and we procured a few sheep, which belonged to the Nayib of Massowah. The high hills of Habesh were in full view; and in one part, a ridge appeared between us and them, which terminates a point said to form the bay of Massowah, and is called Ras Gidden. The night was as sultry as usual.

On the 20th we heaved anchor at five. Our pilot seemed to be less acquainted than usual with the islands. We made a direct N. E. course but tacked incessantly. The distance we ran was about

DISTANT VIEW OF THE ISLAND OF VALENTIA

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY
LIBRARY
GAELIC SOCIETY

twenty-two miles, when we anchored in another bay, the extremities of the land extending from N. W. by W. to S. by E. It was very deep and a village was situated on the bank at the bottom of it. This, he said, was Dhalac, but it agreed so little with the description I had met with, that I had considerable doubts on the subject. I enquired for Dhalac-el-Kibeer, which he told me was at some distance, but that the port was not safe for vessels of our size; nor would he dare to take us there without permission from the Dola.

A native soon came along side, on a catamaran, formed of four pieces of wood, about ten feet long, and six inches in diameter. On this he floated nearly naked. On recognising our pilot, he came on board, but seemed considerably alarmed. He was a fine muscular figure, with a large black beard, not woolly. He afterwards proved to be the son of the Dola, who commanded the whole island on the part of the Nayib of Massowah. He pressed us to land, which I determined to do. He then begged leave to accompany me. By an unfortunate fatality, I consented to our pilot's being of the party. As, from the appearance of the young man, who was perfectly naked, except a cloth wrapped round his waist, I had no very high idea of the Dola's dignity, I consulted the former what present I should take on shore. Money, cloth, rice, tobacco, &c. &c. were mentioned; in short I found any thing would be acceptable. I dressed myself in an Asiatic dress, as did Mr. Salt. Hyder went with us as interpreter. The water on this shore is shallow and has undermined the madrapore rocks, of which the beach is composed, in such a manner, as to render a landing in most parts impracticable. At length we entered a strait, formed

by an island called Nokhara, and the main land of Dhalac. Here is a very excellent but small landing place.

The pilot and native went on to announce our arrival, while we reclined in the shade of a rock, and caused our people to collect some oysters, that grew in large clusters, suspended from the roof of the caverns, formed by the beating of the sea. At length more natives arrived, who begged us to advance to the village. We were met by a tall native, almost naked, with a cast of the wool in his hair, who, my pilot said, was the Dola, and to whom the present was to be given. He accompanied us till I was met by another man, in the Arab dress, with a cap; his beard white as snow, and he had a more respectable appearance than the former. I immediately conceived this to be the Dola, but the old pilot would not admit it. We were conducted into a house, built like all the others in the place, of madrapore, drawn from the sea, squared, and raised about twelve feet from the ground. It was thatched with a species of grass, and had one door, but no window. The bare earth formed the floor, and there was no furniture except five beds, made of wood, with cords drawn across, and raised about three feet from the ground. These were covered with matting made of the leaves of the doom-tree.* I seated myself on one, Mr. Salt on another, the rest were occupied by natives and my lascars, who were sitting together in amicable equality.

No one was armed even with a knife. I again urged that I thought the man in the Arab dress ought to have the present, but was over-ruled. The native therefore received a piece of blue Surat

* A species of palm tree.

cloth and ten dollars, while the other had only a piece of blue cloth. Coffee was immediately ordered, and our conversation commenced. I stated that we wished to procure water and sheep, for which we would willingly pay. They assured us they would supply us: a specimen of the former was produced, and was excellent. I could not state the quantity wanted, but referred them to Captain Keys. They spoke in the highest terms of their master, the Nayib of Massuah, or, as they pronounce it, Massowah. They said, he was a good man, and if I wanted one pilot would give me two. There were plenty on the island, who could pilot me to Suakin, whither I told them I was going. The old man was now recognised as being the Nayib's representative, and Governor of all the island, and our young visitor on board as his son. I more particularly engaged him to attend me during my stay, by a promise of a present on my departure. They told me that the place I was on was an island called Nokhara, and the constant residence of the Dola, who had sub-dolas at every other station; that Dhalac-el-Kibeer had formerly been the principal residence, that now the port was bad, and could not admit our ship, but that we were very well situated where we were.

In defiance of the heat, I determined to visit the wells or tanks, where the water was kept, conceiving they were probably near the village. My young Dola accompanied me. We passed through the narrow passages that separated the houses from each other, without seeing a single female, or being importuned by a single beggar. There was a small unornamented oblong building on the road side, which I learnt was a mosque; near it were a few tomb-stones and two doom-trees. We ascended nearly a mile

along a small foot-path tracked in the rock, on which nothing grew except a few stunted plants of the mimosa. Here the channel which separates Nokhara from the larger island of Dhalac, became visible, and below us in the valley, the site of the water was distinctly marked by a kind of meadow, and several plantations of doom-trees. It was distant another mile, but as I had advanced so far, I determined to proceed. On my arrival I was much surprised to find that the well was a natural one, formed by a chasm in the rock, which was covered for several feet with good soil, and occasionally produced excellent herbage. It was about seven feet from the water, which, presented a clear surface of about ten feet long, by three wide, irregular in its shape, from the rocks protruding sides. As it never fails in the driest season, and supplies the whole island, the reservoir probably extends under a great part of the plain. Its superincumbent bed prevents the heat from having any effect on it. At the distance of forty or fifty yards they had sunk a well, and at the same depth had found water. The Dola told me, that at Dhalac-el-Kibeer, you could not search three feet deep without obtaining it. On returning to our boat we found the Dola there, who assured us, that water and fresh provisions should be ready in the morning, when I intended to proceed to the opposite island with my tent, and view the port of Dobelew, where Mr. Bruce had anchored.

When I returned on board, I stated my plan to Captain Keys; and observed to him, that as every thing hitherto had appeared so totally different from what we had been led to expect from Mr. Bruce's statement, I conceived it to be of the greatest public advantage to ascertain the real situation and shape of the islands; that for this

purpose, I requested the use of one of the boats on the morrow, to attend me till my return, which would probably be in the course of two days. To this I received a positive refusal; with the information, that it was contrary to the regulations of their ships, that any of their boats should be out all night. These regulations were singularly urged by a person, who had kept his boat two nights on shore at Mocha, merely because he prefered sleeping on land; though in consequence he was not on board the Antelope to receive me on my return from the Fox. Had it been otherwise, the very positive orders he had received from Marquis Wellesley to afford me every assistance in his power in the prosecution of my designs, formed a sufficient reason for infringing the rules, and rendered the complying with my request a point of duty.

Having long observed that he wished to throw every obstacle in my way, I determined to take advantage of this opportunity, to decide the business either one way or the other. I accordingly requested Mr. Salt to wait on him, and represent my extreme mortification at being obliged to take such a step, but that I did not conceive the Governor General's orders were, either in their letter or spirit, complied with; and that if it were his determination to persevere, and thwart me in every thing, I must represent the circumstances to Government, and consider, whether I should not abandon the object of my enquiry altogether. I likewise desired Mr. Salt to mention a very singular circumstance, namely, the dubious and irregular manner in which the longitude was given to me, and its being kept a secret from every other person in the ship. The reply was long and curious. He was excessively astonished at my attributing to him any unwillingness to assist me so far

as he could consistently with his duty: he conceived I was not Captain of the ship, but that he was; and, consequently, that though I might make any request, the discretionary power of complying with it rested with him alone; and that he could not violate the rules of the service. That as for his acquainting me with the longitude, he considered it was a mere matter of favour, not of right; and added something with regard to my intention of taking to myself, the credit of discoveries and observations made by him and his officers. This was, however, mixed with repeated declarations, that I had mistaken him, and that I might have every assistance he thought he ought to give.

I desired Mr. Salt to reply, that I must persevere in my idea respecting his neglect of orders; and that the boats, when necessary, were not to be refused me; that the idea of my wishing to take to myself the credit of the observations, was ridiculous; that they appeared to me too uncertain to be valuable; that the credit of forming the plan of viewing these doubtful countries, of ascertaining the real manners of their inhabitants, and of facilitating the sailing along their coast, would be mine in defiance of him and his observations. That the other circumstances were requisite to the public good, which, if he pleased, he might prevent my being able to communicate to the King's ministers. That I hoped I had mistaken his intentions, and expected I should receive every reasonable assistance: that I never wished for more, and trusted we should not again differ on the subject. Thus ended the dispute; but he continued very gloomy, and I was convinced we should never cordially agree. The fact was, he did not like the voyage, which he considered as dangerous; and even the strong principle of interest

could not make him conceal it. It was agreed, that the next morning, Mr. Salt should set off with the second Lieutenant, Mr. Maxfield, in the pilot's boat for Dhalac-el-Kibeer, and ascertain as much as possible of the island.

May 21.—I was awakened early in the morning by a violent dispute between Mr. Salt and the pilot, who, although he had the evening before consented to the whole arrangement, now declared that he would not go, nor should his boat go, unless he received ten dollars; a demand that was positively refused. By the interference of Captain Keys he was induced to proceed, but returned under some other pretence; when Captain Keys ordered the cutter to be prepared. On this he instantly departed, fearing to lose an opportunity of plundering the party. I staid on board: Captain Keys went on shore to the Dola's. He found a large collection of skins filled with water, lying on the beach, covered with mats to protect them from the sun. These were sent on board in the boat, which made three trips, and nearly completed our supply. The Dola demanded only a dollar for twenty-seven skins, which is much cheaper than at Mocha, and the water was far better. The goats we procured were excellent, not inferior to the mutton we got lately. I obtained some shells, but none equal to what I expected. Several of the natives came off in the course of the day. At night I received a note from Mr. Salt, informing me that he had reached Dhalac-el-Kibeer, but that the Dola of the place would not permit him to move without an order from the Chief Dola at Nokhara. He requested me to procure this, and send him a piece of Surat blue cloth. All this was complied with, and I endeavoured to compose myself to rest, but without success. I felt much indisposed from the effects of my walk to the wells.

May 22.—Captain Keys again went on shore. At night Mr. Salt returned with a view of Dhalac-el-Kibeer, and made a report of his tour, from which I compiled the following observations. Standing in shore at half a mile from the ship, there were soundings at 3, 2 ½ and 2 fathom, at two hundred yards from the shore. The ship bore W by S ½ S. the extremities of the bay from S by E. to W by N ½ N. They proceeded along shore till the ship bore W. N. W ½ N. when a sand appeared equidistant from them, about three miles, bearing W. S. W. Close to a plantation of doom-trees, about two miles from the place where they landed, were sixteen wells like those we found at Nokhara, but the water was not more than two feet below the surface. Here two shepherds were tending, and drawing water for, several camels with their young, a great herd of asses, a few fine goats, and two sheep. As soon as the camels were supplied and driven off, some water was placed in the stone for the birds, which arrived in vast flights, particularly doves. A plantation of date-trees had been lately formed here; which at present did not bear fruit. They hired two asses for a dollar, but they were low and unmanageable.

About four miles and a half from the wells they passed a creek, where they met with a great number of pelicans, plenty of madrapore, and sea-weed, but no shells. On the right was a salt-marsh, which probably, at high spring tides, is connected with one more distant. They rested under the shade of a mimosa, till Hyder, and old Hassan, the boat-man, joined them. The pilot had constantly kept up with them. A native came down from a hill with some milk and water; he was very civil, but objected to their going to the place he came from; to avoid affronting him, they did

not press it. He got ready two asses, and went on with them. The road was rocky and uneven, and in several places the earth had divided, and formed clefts, about three feet across, where widest, and several hundred yards in length. They were of considerable depth; and the splashing of the stones thrown down, proved that there was water at the bottom.

After a fatiguing journey of five miles from their resting place, they got to Dhalac-el-Kibeer by two o'clock. A pleasant breeze had enabled them to bear the heat. At a little distance from the town they were met by several of the inhabitants, and among others by the priest; he differed in appearance from the rest in nothing except his having a string of beads round his neck. Mr. Salt and his companions were conducted to the Serai, had couches prepared for them, obtained milk and water to drink, and soon afterwards, coffee. Their visitors were numerous, as the curiosity of the whole place was excited to view the first Europeans that ever had, in their time, visited them. Mr. Maxfield's uniform in particular excited much curiosity. On their expressing a wish to go out with their books and papers, the priest informed them, that without an order from Nokhara he could not allow it, but that he would, if they pleased, send off a messenger instantly, who might be able to return in the course of the night. This was done, and, as I have before observed, the letter to me was faithfully delivered. Upon expressing a wish to be left to themselves, every body retired, and some very good cakes with milk and water were sent them: these, with the articles they had brought with them, afforded a very tolerable meal, after which they again had coffee. In the evening, under pretence of bathing, they visited the harbour, and, in consequence of what the priest had said, made

some observations. They slept on couches in the open air, but were very much disturbed by the rats, which, in the course of the night, seized and carried off from under Mr. Salt's bed, a napkin laid in a basket, which contained all their provisions. Before they were up, the messenger arrived with all the articles sent for, and the necessary permission from the Dola at Nokhara. The piece of blue Surat cloth was immediately presented to the priest of the place, and seemed very acceptable. After breakfast, they set off to make their observations.

A little way to the south of the town is the tomb of a most holy Mussulmaun prophet and saint, Abou-el-Heimen. A light is kept constantly burning; to support which, they assured Mr. Salt, it was customary for all travellers to give half a dollar. He would not be the first to break so laudable a custom, and therefore gave the money. Near this place are the ruins of a tank; it was 28 feet long, by 12 broad, and about 18 feet deep. It appeared to have been originally arched at top, and resembled another at some distance; the form of which was a regular oval, flat at the bottom, of great breadth, and 20 feet deep; the sides also arched at top, leaving a circular opening in the centre about three feet diameter, towards which large gutters were formed in the rock to bring in the water. Near the sea were four others; one was much larger, two others smaller than those above described, and circular. The one in ruins was cut out of the solid rock, then lined with stone and chunamed. There was no water in any of them, but a sediment appeared at the bottom; and on stooping down to look into them, the air was found extremely sultry. All these, they heard, were built by the Parsees, of whom nothing is known except from tradition; from the same

source, they have an account of 316 tanks, similar to those above mentioned; but admit that they never saw or heard of any one who had seen more than twelve or fourteen: they added, there were none at Dobelew.

Dhalac-el-Kibeer was formerly the principal port of the island. The town is about half a mile from the sea, with a sloping beach of sand between. The harbour is nearly inclosed by a chain of nine islands that lie off at the distance of about two miles. Beyond these the island of Chumma was visible, bearing from S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. to S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. while the extremities of the land bore from S. E. to W. S. W. At present there is scarcely water enough for a dow to approach the shore: till near the islands, it is seldom more than three or four feet deep. Only two vessels were there, one belonging to the place, the other to Massowah. The port still exhibits many vestiges of its former consequence. On the northern side are the ruins of two small mosques built of stone, with round cupolas at top, but of a rude workmanship. In the one towards the sea is an Arabic inscription cut on a stone placed in a recess. Around the mosque a great number of monumental stones are placed upright in the ground, at the heads of the persons whom they commemorate: many are well carved, and beautifully adorned with flowers, and other ornaments: some in the Cufic, some in the Arabic, characters. As the stones are in general of a portable size, Mr. Salt was desirous of taking one away; but, as he was assured by the priest that this could not be done without express permission from the Nayib of Massowah, he contented himself with taking a copy of one inscription, which seemed to be held in the highest veneration, although externally it had nothing to recommend it, being indifferently carved, and having a

corner broken. The priest informed him that it belonged to the Sheik or Sultaun, (he is called both), who built the tanks. It is immediately opposite to the principal mosque, and by the natives constantly kept moist with oil. Among the ruins were several pieces of brick and glass, some of which were perfectly clear. The women seemed to be kept out of the way, as they never appeared except at a distance, and the men objected to their being approached by strangers. The men had not the curly head of the Negroes. There are no trees near the town except two doomt-rees and some Acacias. In spite of the opposition of the old pilot, who assured him that there were Bedowees, &c. in the place, Mr. Salt determined to go up a small ascent, whence he had hopes of seeing the Antelope. He set off alone, but finding that he persevered, several of the natives soon followed. He ascended without the least molestation, and had the good fortune to ascertain the following bearings. The Antelope N. 35 W. the mosque nearest the sea S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. the other end of the town S. b. E. distant a mile and three quarters; the extremes of Chumma S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. and S. W. b. S.; a sand S. W. b. W.

Leaving the hills, Mr. Salt proceeded about half a mile north to a creek, which they said is the same that separates Dhalac from Nokhara, and ends here; a small boat may come up it. Dobelew is reckoned two days journey distant; Nokhara one; so that their day's journey is about nine miles. About four o'clock the party set off on its return. When they got to the wells, the baggage, with old Hassan, was not come up. They waited some time, and at length sent the pilot to look for him. It was nearly two hours before he made his appearance, with a pitiful story that he had fallen asleep on the road, during which all the things had been stolen. The

pilot soon came back by a different way. This old rascal had made so many active attempts to cheat them, though in most he had been frustrated by Hyder, that Mr. Salt had not the least doubt that this was another plan to extort money, by re-obtaining the articles lost; he was the more confirmed in this idea, from the pilot's extreme anxiety to have them intrusted to old Hassan, as being honest, instead of a younger man, who could have kept up with the party. The only serious circumstance was Mr. Salt's drawing book being among the articles; he therefore threatened the severest vengeance if the book, &c. were not produced by morning. They returned to the vessel, and by day-light the next morning the old rogue brought every thing, pretending they were obtained with difficulty from a person to whom he had given two dollars, which he desired might be repaid him. This was positively refused, and he only got the four dollars that were originally paid for his boat.

I had many observations to make respecting Mr. Bruce's account of these islands, but resolved to defer them till I could fully enter on the subject. In the morning the Dola came off in the boat: he breakfasted with us on coffee and sweetmeats, and seemed much pleased. I gave him a few pounds of coffee. In the course of the day, his son brought several baskets of shells, among which were some very excellent. I learnt nothing more respecting the place, as the boats were employed in bringing water. At night, however, Mr. Hall, the first Lieutenant, was permitted by Captain Keys to go to a reef, whence he procured some very fine sea eggs (Echini); one species had spines a foot long, and sharp as a needle; the other was of a larger kind, and when cleaned, very beautiful. The madrapore was not remarkable. Of coral or coraline I have not seen a specimen.

May 23.—I had given notice to Captain Keys that I wished to proceed to Massowah. The old Dola came on board in his catamaran, (rather an undignified conveyance,) with his son, who requested a passage to Massowah: this was willingly granted. His father sent a letter by Captain Keys to the Nayib, praising, as I heard, our good behaviour while at his island. He received the money due to him, and having expressed a wish to hear one of the great guns, as he called them, fired, Captain Keys saluted him with one as his catamaran left the side of the ship. We weighed anchor between ten and eleven, and with a tolerable breeze bore away for Ras Gidden, which, since we had left Valentia, had never been out of sight. The pilot kept us so much to windward, that at three o'clock we were opposite to Massowah, though distant about three leagues. The wind was very light, and we were not able to get completely into the bay, but anchored without. We were alarmed during this day's sailing by a man calling out that there were shoals right a-head; but they proved only masses of floating fishes spawn, which had so defined an outline, and were so extensive, as to have the complete appearance of shoals. In the night we heard several guns from the shore.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival at Massowah.—Reception there.—Public visit to the Nayib.—Private visit to the Nayib.—Conversation with him.—Preparations for the continuation of the voyage.—Disputes with the Captain of the Antelope, and consequent determination to return to Mocha.—Transactions at Massowah, and price of articles there.—Visit to the island of Valentia.—Return to Mocha.—Desertions from the ship.—Encouragement given by the Arab government to European seamen to become Mussulmauns.—Departure of Mr. Salt for India in the Antelope.—Voyage in the Fox frigate to Aden.—Transactions there.—Return to Mocha.—Transactions there.—Voyage to Bombay.

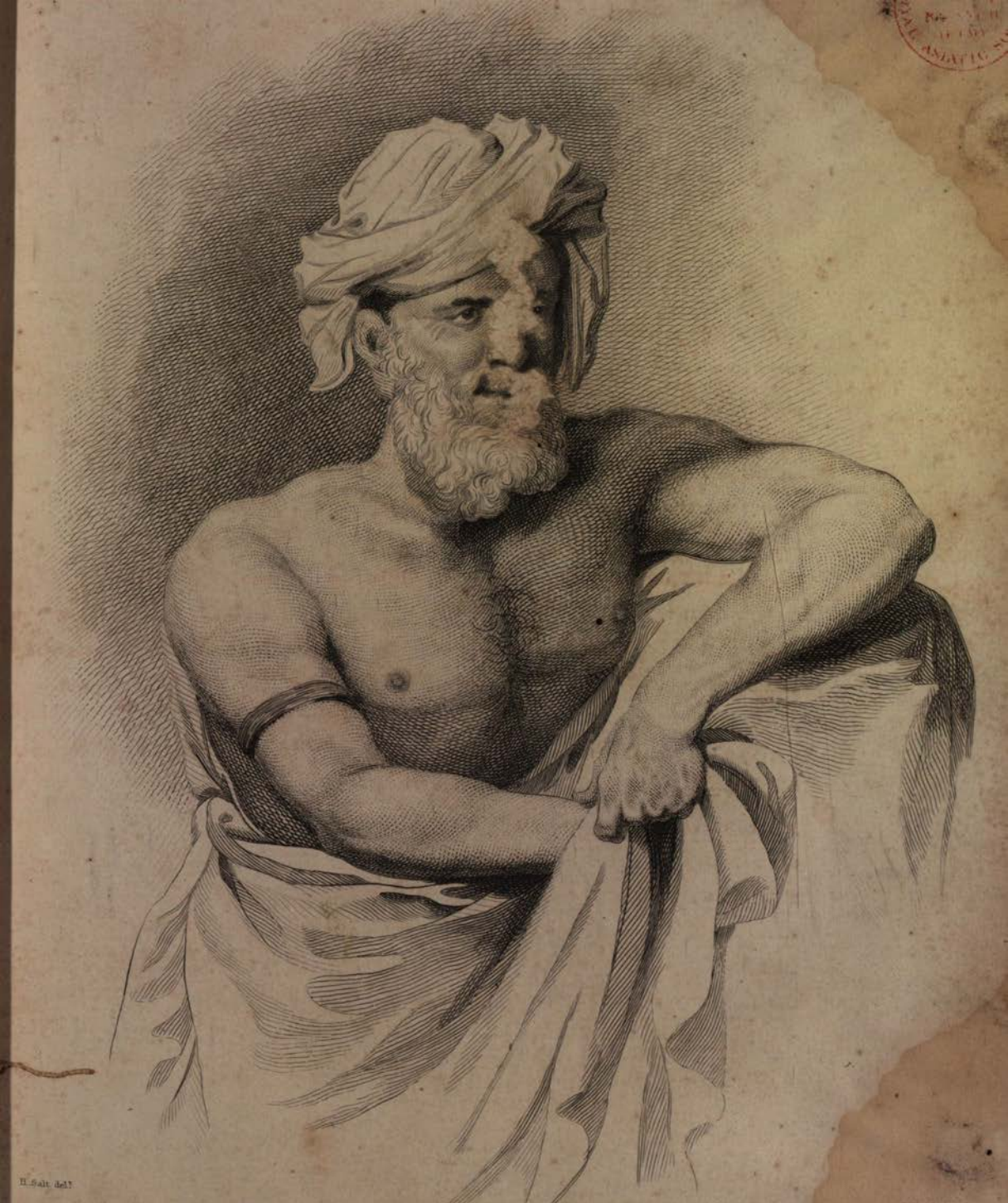
CHAPTER II.

MAY 24.—At six we were under weigh, but were obliged soon to come to an anchor, as the land-wind was against us, and there was no room to work. Mr. Maxfield had been sent off in the jolly boat to the shore, where we saw a considerable crowd collected close to a mud building, which we presumed to be the castle. On his return he informed us, that the natives had perceived our approach, and had taken us for the Wahabees, in consequence of which the Nayib had come over from Arkeko, and they had been all night under arms. Mr. Maxfield informed them that a great man was on board, going to Suez, who would probably pay the Nayib a visit; that we wished for permission to enter the port, and obtain water and provisions; that we were willing to salute the fort with three, five, or seven guns, whichever the Nayib, would return. He was at the head of his troops, and replied, that he should be happy to see the great man; that the island and every thing it afforded was his, and that he would return five guns, but did not wish for more, as it would alarm the Bedowees of the surrounding country, and make them hasten down to protect him. Mr. Maxfield said the natives were extremely civil, and told him, he might stay if he pleased, and send away the boat. This he thought suspicious, for which we laughed at him, and compared him to Mr. Bruce, who thought the man near Crab Island must be a villain from his smiling.

We so strongly suspected our old pilot, that we would not permit him to leave the ship till I had gone on shore and secured a good reception. During the whole voyage he had been threatening the Naqueda* of the dow that he would, on his arrival here, complain to the Nayib of his injustice in giving him only fifteen dollars for piloting the ship to Massowah, when he himself received so large a sum as four hundred. When he saw the dow's boat going on shore without him, he thought they might make their story good, and his rage exceeded all bounds: he called to them, on their peril, not to proceed, and, when they went on, continued muttering to himself, and told the Captain he was so angry, that if his head should be cut off, it would not prevent his complaining.

Several Banians came off in a boat, the end of which was covered with green and red silk. They brought an additional invitation to me from the Nayib. Our salute of five guns was immediately fired, and was answered, first by two guns near the castle. These were loaded with ball, the whizzing of which, though the guns were pointed wide of us, we could plainly hear, and from such bad marksmen was by no means pleasant: the third from the same place missed fire. At length two more were fired from the same place, and, half an hour afterwards, a fifth from the other side of the town, all loaded with ball. I had a letter from Devage, the India Company's broker at Mocha, to one of the Banians, which I delivered. I consulted him on the subject, and then determined immediately to go on shore. I put on a plain Indian dress of muslin, with a shawl round my middle, in which I stuck my tulwah.† Mr. Salt and my servant had also dresses of that country, and Hyder went as interpreter.

* The native master. † Indian sword.



H. Salt. del.

Pollard. sculp.

A MASSOWAH PILOT.

Published May 1809 by William Miller Albemarle Street London.

We set off in the boat, under a salute from the ship, followed by all the Banians. We landed close to the town. There were three brass cannon there, much injured by time: with these they attempted a salute, but as the first missed fire, and I advanced, I cannot tell with how many they intended to honour me. I landed at a pier, with a small open space, that led to an ancient gateway, on one side of which was a large building. In one of its balconies I perceived several well dressed people. There was a considerable crowd, but they behaved very well. I entered by the gateway, and turning to the left, passed through several ruined rooms, and ascended a slope of rubbish to a large apartment, the end of which was covered with mats, on which was seated a very numerous assemblage of half clad natives. On the left side, in the balcony, was the Nayib, and several well dressed men. Opposite to them were two old fashioned English elbow chairs with high backs.

On entering, I made my salaam to the Nayib, who pointed to the chairs. Mr. Salt and I immediately seated ourselves, my servant and Hyder standing by. The Nayib was in one corner; he was dressed in white muslin with a shawl of scarlet for a turban, precisely similar to the one I wore round my waist. Next him, (as I have since learned,) was his brother, the Sirdar of the forces, in a large Janissary turban of scarlet: the others were his sons and secretary, &c. The crowd followed us in, and were now crouched on their haunches, over the whole surface to the door, completely filling the room, like Milton's devils in Pandæmonium; but in no other respect would the comparison hold, for their countenances were generally pleasing and intelligent, free from the traces of violent passions. I delivered a message to Hyder, expressive of my

thanks for the answer the Nayib had returned me in the morning. Hyder interpreted this to the Banian, who went stooping, and in a low voice communicated it to the Nayib. Our whole conversation passed in the same way, and was merely complimentary: as I had been informed it would be wrong to enter on any business at my public audience. He told me that the island was mine, and begged I would make what use I pleased of it; that a house was prepared for me, and that he hoped I would continue in it during my stay. To this I assented. Coffee was brought, after the Arab fashion, in very small china cups, without milk or sugar: these were placed in larger ones of gilt filagree, to prevent the fingers from being burnt. Afterwards a caftan of red silk was thrown over my shoulders. They enquired who Mr. Salt was, and, on being informed he was my Secretary, there was some confusion, and a man went out. I now wished to take my leave, but was desired to stay till my house would be ready. I suspected what afterwards proved to be the case. A man entered, and immediately a caftan of blue cloth with yellow silk facing was thrown over Mr. Salt.

I now made my salaam, and the Nayib rose to attend me. We went down together. The troops in the gateway got up from their couches to make their salaams, which he returned by a wave of the hand. He attended me a considerable distance, but without saying a word. At a sharp turning he departed one way, and directed some of his people to shew me another. At length I reached a small house by the sea-side, nearly opposite to the Antelope. Here, in a stone built room, several couches were prepared, some with carpets, and some with blankets thrown over them; it was however, comparatively cool, from the thickness of the walls, and the

many openings which admitted the sea breeze. The Banians attended me, and I was soon overpowered by visitors. After obtaining some sherbet, I sent off Mr. Salt to inform the Captain of what had passed, and to invite him on shore. My servant went also to bring back the things necessary for my stay. I then told my visitors I wished to go to sleep, and they all immediately retired.

I did not awake till some hours afterwards, when the boats had returned, Captain Keys was in full uniform, attended by his whole suite. To my great surprise, the havildar of the sepoys was with him, who, upon enquiry, I found was to act the part of his orderly. The circumstance excited a smile, and also some surprise, as at Dhalac I had declared my perfect confidence in the people, and that I should not take a single sepoy on shore with me; a resolution which the Captain highly approved. He immediately sent off a message to the Nayib to announce his arrival, and to express his wish of paying him a visit. The Nayib, a little surprised, said he would see him in the evening; but in the evening it was put off till the next day. I received presents of water, curry, and other necessary articles in the course of the evening, and a message requesting that I would send to his Banian for every thing I should want. The thermometer was at 94° in a stone-built room, the walls of which were four feet thick, and a pleasant sea-breeze playing through it. We slept on our couches, without any covering, and found the air pleasant. I was however heated, and the prickly heat was tormenting.

May 25.—Mr. Maxfield the second Lieutenant, and Mr. Macgie, came on shore to dine with me. The cook and necessary articles

were procured from the ship, as our stay was not likely to be short. The pilots were to be procured from Dhalac, who were to conduct us to Suakin; and our dow was in such a state as to render getting her up on the beach necessary. Soon after their arrival, Captain Keys sent for them to attend him to the Nayib. The interpreter, a low fellow from Mocha, but not an Arab, the Banian, and Havildar, as orderly, composed the whole of his suwarry. The Nayib did not compliment him with a public audience, but received him in a little hut by the sea-side, without any except the necessary attendants, and in a perfect undress.

I was very much indisposed, but did not wish to take any thing till night, as I understood from the Banian that the Nayib intended to visit me in the evening, when I should have an opportunity of delivering my present. About four o'clock he sent for Hyder, and told him to acquaint me that he had no such intentions; that if he came he must have all his people and troops with him, who would all expect presents from him; and added, what have I to give them? He wished, that when it was quite dark, I would come alone to his house, when he would give me a private audience. As I was assured that the reason assigned was a real one, I consented to his request, without the slightest hesitation.

Accordingly, about eight o'clock, the Banian, and another person, arrived to conduct me. I did not even take Mr. Salt with me. Hyder carried my present concealed, which consisted of a handsome pair of shawls, a gold tissue dress, complete, but not made up, and a piece of kincaub. He received me in an undress, sitting on a bed of the country, out of doors, in one of the yards of his house: the only light was from two small lanthorns, the one suspended,

the other on the ground. He made his salaams in return to mine, by placing his hand on his breast, and pointed to a seat placed close to his, at right angles. Perceiving Mr. Salt was not with me, he sent for him, and he soon arrived, accompanied by my landlord.

We had a long conversation, in which I represented that my motive for coming was to ascertain, whether our ships could with safety pass up this coast to Suez, and obtain water and provisions on the way. I pointed out the great advantage that would consequently ensue to his people, and expressed my satisfaction at having hitherto met with so much civility from his subjects, and in having succeeded in ascertaining what I wished. He replied that the island was mine, and that I might do what I pleased. That if our ships came, they should have every thing he could supply them with. That here they were very civil, good people; but, that, on the main, though they belonged to him, he could not equally answer for them. He offered sherbet in a silver cup, which the person who brought it tasted in my presence.

I now produced my present, prefacing it by saying, that I was not a merchant, but a man of rank in my own country, travelling for amusement, and returning thither after a long absence; that I therefore had no merchandise, nor any thing worthy his acceptance; nevertheless, I wished him to accept a part, of what I had, as a mark of my respect and gratitude, for his attentions since my arrival. He received my present, but said, What is this for? Have you not every thing? what do you ask from me? I replied, that through his kindness, I had every thing I wished for, and I hoped he would continue it to me and mine. I mentioned the pilots; he said they had been sent for. I asked permission for my people to look for

shells, and to shoot. He begged me to apply to the Banian whenever I wished them to go out, and I should have some of his people to attend: but said there was a contagious disorder on the islands and therefore he wished us not to visit them lest we should bring it back. He assured me the ship should have every supply she wanted. He gave Hyder five dollars, and, after coffee, we took our leave, much pleased with his behaviour.

He is rather a small man, of a grave countenance, and about forty years of age. His name is Edris; he has been nine years Nayib, and bears a most excellent character. He is the son of the late Nayib Hannes or Othman, who was the son of Achmed, of whom Mr. Bruce speaks so well, and who was nephew and heir of Hassan, the then Nayib, but did not survive him. The present Nayib has two sons, grown up, by one of his wives, and two infants by an Abyssinian. His brother is Sirdar of Janissaries, whom they now call Ascarri, having completely lost the former name.

May 27.—I was extremely unwell, with a slight fever, and insufferable restlesness. I took some medicine, and felt considerably relieved. I obtained from the Nayib, an Ascar who kept my door, and prevented my being crowded by coffee-drinking visitors. The heat was very great; the thermometer at 96°, and less air than usual.

May 28.—The night was cooler, and I was not so restless. In the morning I had no fever, and at dinner some appetite. The Nayib sent frequently to enquire after me. His brother and sons were all here. A great number of the natives visited the ship: by the Captain's orders they had coffee and raisins, with which they were much pleased. My room was as pleasant as could be in this climate.

H. Salt Esq.r Pinx.t

Pollard sculp.t

ABYSSINIAN AT MASSOWAH.

Published May 1.1809 by W.Miller. Albemarle Street.

I viewed from my window the island of Valentia, distant about five leagues, Ras Gidden, and the chain of mountains that lines the coast of the Red Sea from this place to the plains of Egypt. Behind these the summit of Taranta peeps out, and gives credit, by its height, to Mr. Bruce's account of the difficulty he had in ascending it. The island of Sheik Said is pleasingly covered with trees, and seems to be nearly in the middle of this unruffled bason.

May 29.— A restless night determined me to leave off wine, and try if that would cool me. In other respects I was better; and, thank God! my spirits never left me for a moment. My visitors were numerous, and my host was extremely intelligent. I gathered from him the following information. Dhalac is considered as a profitable government for the person who holds it. The Nayib receives from him only sixty dollars in money, and also obtains some camels, goats, and asses. If any thing should throw a large sum into the hands of the Dola, the Nayib would send to him and claim it; but if, as in our case, it amounted to no more than thirty or forty dollars, he would let him keep all. The Nayib lives generally at Arkeko, where he has a very good house, and one wife, although the place is not so pleasant as Massowah; but in this he finds his interest, because the greater part of his dominions lie there, and his people have an easy access to him. He comes here occasionally, where he has another wife. The trade is considerable.

On the hills of Jibbel Gidden, and those behind Arkeko, are elephants, the teeth of which are exported: from Habesh they send gee, hides, gold dust, civet, sheep, and slaves. Of the latter the number is lately much lessened: a very satisfactory circum-

stance, and a proof of the increasing civilization of that country. The Suakin trade in slaves is, they say, proportionably augmenting. In return, they send up British broad-cloth, arms, ammunition, and the different manufactures of India: a little grain is also brought down from Abyssinia. They have, in their own country, plenty of goats and oxen; the sea supplies them with an inexhaustible variety of fish of the finest kinds; so that their living is by no means bad: game also seems in the greatest plenty. Water at Arkeko is not very good, but abundant. On the island of Massowah are about thirty tanks, which are filled in the rainy season: these are kept closed, and are, I believe, private property. They are not sufficient for the supply of the place, and much water is brought every morning by the boats from Arkeko.

The houses are, each, surrounded by a fence of reeds: the rooms are detached, and built of the same: within, they are lined with mats. The common people are extremely civil, and no one carries any arms, except the immediate family of the Nayib. My Ascar had no weapon except a stick. The natives did not seem jealous of their women, who came down to bathe, and performed their ablutions close to the place where I sat, without any appearance of shame. The slaves of the neighbours had, I believe, been found not over coy by the Europeans on shore. My next door neighbour was the Sirdar of the Ascarri, and I suspected, the intercourse was permitted by him, and that he shared in the profit. I saw only one deformed person, a female dwarf with bandy legs, who bathed before us regularly every day. The men and women are naturally well made, but childbirth destroys the figures of the latter.

The Ascarri are completely under the influence of the Nayib,

who pays them out of the duties which ought to be remitted to Constantinople. They still recognise the Sultaun as their master, but it is a mere form. The Nayib pays nothing to the King of Abyssinia, but they are, I understand, on very good terms.

The Banians here are very comfortable: they say they have ever been the same, and some of them were those mentioned by Mr. Bruce. They are allowed wives, if they please, which is not the case at Mocha; and they seem less oppressed. They amount to eighteen in number, and carry on a considerable trade. The Nayib receives ten per cent. ad valorem on all goods exported and imported, and one dollar for each individual who enters the country to trade. The pearl fishery is renewed to a certain degree by the people of Dhalac, but although the best banks belong to the Nayib he receives no share of the profit.

June 2.—We were still delayed here, though the dow was ready for sea. The pilot arrived from Dhalac, but went back immediately to procure two more, who he said were absolutely necessary for so large a vessel. If the passage above should prove as clear as that below, this delay will never be necessary hereafter: I had indeed to regret that we did not do more; but Captain Keys threw every difficulty in our way, prevented Mr. Maxfield from making many observations that he wished, and, as we were all convinced, endeavoured even to mislead us by false longitude. Latterly he concealed it entirely, and then he declared his time keeper was out of order, and that he should take Mr. Bruce's longitude, and begin a new rate. We determined not to follow him, but, (as we should anchor every night,) to endeavour to carry on a chain of bearings the whole way to Suakin. Mr. Maxfield had finished a chart of the harbour, and

proved Mr. Bruce's to be erroneous. It seems indeed that his was a copy from that of the Portuguese, corrected by a bird's eye view.

June 3.—I sent to the Nayib for permission for Mr. Salt and my servant to go out to morrow on a shooting party on the main-land. To this he willingly assented; and said he would send to Arkeko for mules and people to attend them. The Sirdar procured me some good shells, but begged Hyder would desire me to remember, and take care of him; adding, he wanted dollars. I told Hyder to say I had only sufficient for my expenses, as we never travelled with much money, and that I could procure no more till I got to Egypt; but that of what I had, I had given him a part. He, however, seemed to hope for something, as he was very active in procuring more shells. On the whole I felt better, though relaxed by the heat of the climate, the thermometer being 98°, but without fever, or depression of spirits. It lightened over the mountains at night.

June 4.—The party went out, and returned by ten o'clock, with seven birds of the pheasant kind, with mottled black, or rather brown and white feathers, the neck bare, and yellow underneath, red and bare about the eyes: they also killed a hare, and two small deer, which tasted exactly like the roebuck. Fortunately for the sportsmen, it was cloudy the whole of the morning, who, however, were heartily fatigued and sore in the feet. Thermomter 98°. The Sirdar brought me another collection of shells, which contained only one worth having. I explained what I wished, and he sent the men off again. Hyder privately promised them a present, if they exerted themselves, which should not be mentioned to their master. My servant bore the climate well: he went out on a catamaran

like a native, and brought me from the reef a considerable variety of madrapores, some very beautiful.

June 5.—I did not feel quite so well, which might be owing to the heat, as the thermometer was 100°, and there was little air till eleven o'clock. The most desirable article to the natives is cutlery. They asked for some pencils and paper, and every kind of nick-knack. They had scarcely seen any of our European conveniences, and were much delighted with them. They learned their names, and pronounced them with great facility. The Nayib's son asked for powder and ball, to kill me an elephant. One of the pilots arrived from Dhalac: he seemed doubtful whether he could take the ship to Suakin, but wished to wait for his brother's opinion, who had been sent for. He was a very decent young man.

June 6.—A whimsical circumstance happened this morning on board the Antelope; Lieutenant Maxfield last night took an observation of Jupiter's satellites; on Captain Keys going on board, Mr. Maxfield presented him with a copy, which he took down with him into the cabin. Soon afterwards Mr. Maxfield was called. "So, Sir, I perceive this paper was meant for Lord Valentia" (shewing him at the same time my name written at the back). "It was, Sir, but I have another written, which was intended for you." "I want, Sir, neither one nor the other; Mr. Bruce is a very accurate observer, and I shall take his latitude and longitude." Now, how he came to know that Mr. Bruce was accurate, I cannot tell; but Mr. Maxfield has certainly proved him otherwise in his survey of the Bay.

The Banian came to me this morning to say, that he was my servant, and would do whatever I pleased; that if I did not choose to let him manage the Captain's business, he would never go near

him. I told him, I had no such wish, but desired he would prevent any underhand dealings with the pilots, to induce them to declare the voyage to Suakin impracticable. He assured me that he would. This visit gave me great satisfaction, as it assured me I possessed a sufficient influence with the pilots to induce them to speak the truth. I had been not a little astonished by an observation Captain Keys made to Mr. Macgie, that if we could not go to Suakin, we must return back to Hodeida, there being no passage between the islands above Dhalac. How this could be known to him, except from the accurate Mr. Bruce, I know not; I therefore suspected a plan to prevent our continuing our researches. Indeed, Hyder told me that the Naqueda was constantly desiring the Captain's interpreter to persuade his master that the winds were too strong for the ship to venture among the rocks of Suakin. He naturally wished his voyage should end here, that he might pocket his four hundred dollars, without any farther trouble. I was afraid our old pilot might corrupt the new ones, and therefore requested the Nayib to send him off before their arrival, which he did. I found, however, that I only got rid of half the evil. Thermometer 98°.

June 7.—The Nayib sent to me in the evening to request I would come to him, to meet Captain Keys and the pilots. I sent in answer, that I would with pleasure obey his commands, but that I did not wish, on this occasion, to meet Captain Keys, as he had nothing to do with my arrangement. They came a second time to request; that if I did not choose to come myself, I would send Mr. Salt. I now entered with them into a full explanation of my situation relative to Captain Keys; that I was at liberty to go wherever I thought proper; that my wish was to go to Suakin; but before

I could decide, I must consult the pilots. That I should then inform Captain Keys what my plans were; and it remained for him to settle with the men, with which matter I had no concern. That in consequence our meeting would be useless, or the attendance of any one on my part, when he waited on the Nayib. They were themselves perfectly satisfied (my landlord and the Banian), and immediately went to the Nayib. In a short time they returned with both the pilots, and a very kind message from the Nayib, in the true Asiatic style, " that he only wished to know my will to obey it; and that he had sent the people for me to do what I pleased with them."

I found the brothers equally well behaved, and intelligent. They informed me that the first part of the voyage was open sea, through which they could conduct the ship night and day, if I were not afraid. I asked if, at this time of the year, they could steer a dow day and night; they said, yes. Then I said, we should not be afraid to go on. They continued, " that at a place called Ageeg, the passage became narrow, between rocks and islands, but that the former were all above water; that it was sufficiently deep, and about a mile wide; that there was a place where we could anchor, and that a fair wind of one day would take us to Suakin." I asked, if we should find any difficulty in getting from Ageeg to Suakin, and whether they could carry us to Jidda. They said they would not go themselves, but that they would take us on the outside of a very large island, where we should be in the main sea, and could run our selves easily to that place without assistance." I was now perfectly satisfied, and told the Nayib's messengers, that I should write to-morrow to the Captain, to inform him of my plans, and require

him to make the proper arrangements with the pilots. I begged them again to express to their master how very grateful I felt for his numerous attentions to me, which I should take care to represent to all my countrymen, who might visit the Red Sea. A second round of Asiatic compliments passed on the occasion.

I sent to require a boat to carry my servant to a reef opposite the town to search for shells, which was complied with. He had not much success. The natives, in the course of the day, brought me some new species. There was a great variety of dead shells thrown on shore of a species, of which, I have not been able to procure living specimens: they probably come from some of the opposite islands. Money will hardly induce the natives to exert themselves. I found our landlord's name was Abou Yusuff, or Father Joseph, and he well became the title, for he had all the appearance of a jolly, good natured Benedictine monk.

On the 8th I wrote officially to Captain Keys, informing him of my intention to go to Suakin, but that if the winds should prove too strong, I might probably go only so far as Ageeg, and then proceed for Jidda. He afterwards saw the Nayib. The pilots and Naqueda of the dow were there. The Captain required the Naqueda to hire both the pilots, which he refused. He then demanded that he should give back the four hundred dollars. The Naqueda offered one hundred, or said he would hire one pilot. The Captain said that one must then go in his ship, and the dow go ahead without one. This the man positively refused, and said he would not go to Suakin. The Nayib told him, if he did not do what the Captain desired, he would put him in prison; and so the conference ended. I had this from the Banian, who was present, and was sent by the Nayib to

communicate it to me. Mr. Salt and my servant caught some very beautiful small fish; they also procured a few shells.

The Captain was again sent for by the Nayib in the evening, who wished him to pay one pilot, and the Naqueda the other, but nothing definitive was settled. I had a most extraordinary answer from the Captain at night, stating, that there had been much delay by taking this passage, that we should not be able to reach Suez, and most probably not even Tor; and notifying to me that the Antelope must leave the Red Sea by the middle of August, in order to save her passage for the season. The pilot informed Hyder, that the Captain's interpreter had been talking with him, and telling him that if he went with us, he would be starved, for there was no rice on board.

June 9. — Before breakfast I wrote a reply to Captain Keys, stating that I considered his letter as a declaration, that he would not obey the Governor General's orders, and requiring that he would communicate to me his instructions from the Bombay Government, and give me a definitive answer in regard to his intentions of obeying the Governor General, with respect to my future voyage.

About four o'clock my landlord came to me from the Nayib, to say that the pilots were ready to go to Suakin, as I and the Captain had desired. That the Captain had been with him and refused to give two hundred dollars, (which the pilots asked, and the Nayib desired they might receive,) saying he would give but one hundred and sixty, and that if the Nayib did not make them accept this offer, that he would go back immediately to Bombay. The Nayib desired him to express to me, that the Captain, neither last night

nor that day, had behaved civilly to him; that he staid there merely to assist me; that he wished to return to Arkeko, and desired to know my intentions, and when I meant to depart; and added, that he wished to have my commands to go to Arkeko. He also used an Asiatic expression, that the Nayib said "the Captain had two tongues." I expressed my extreme regret that such a circumstance should have occurred. I stated that the Captain was no servant of mine, but of great people of my country in India, who had ordered him to carry me to Suez; that I could therefore only represent to them his misconduct, when I had no doubt he would be punished. That I wished as much as possible to be gone, but that my departure in some degree depended on the Captain; that, however, I would myself with pleasure visit the Nayib, and take my leave of him in the evening, and hoped he would not stay a moment longer there to be insulted.

As soon as he retired, the Banian arrived, who confirmed what had passed at the interview, but knew nothing of the Nayib's message to me. He advised me to give something to the Nayib that night, and promise something more when I went on board the ship. I went about eight o'clock, and had merely a conference of civility. He wished to know whether I should want pilots or not. I told him I was going to write to the Captain, and his answer would decide me, and that I would positively let him know the next day. I found the Nayib, dressed in a dark India muslin, in the same place, with the same attendants, and without any arms. He confirmed all the Banian had said. I made apologies, and pleaded that all the English were not like Captain Keys. He positively refused returning to Arkeko till I departed.

I received an answer from Captain Keys. He expressed his concern that I should suppose it possible he could intend to disobey the Governor General's orders, that he conceived they were issued under the idea that our voyage would be over long before the fifteenth of August, and that, therefore, on that day, he should positively depart on his return to India. However astonished I might be at his thus placing his conjectures in opposition to his Excellency's most positive orders, I had no means of preventing his carrying his resolution into effect; as, he however, professed his resolution to comply with any request of mine till that period, it remained for me to decide what I should do.

To continue my voyage, for the purpose of surveying the coast or visiting Suakin, was totally out of the question, as nine weeks were evidently insufficient for that purpose; I had therefore only to consider, whether, by abandoning all my plans of discovery, I could reach Suez within the time he was pleased to allow me. He had in his letter declared that it was highly improbable, and upon calculation we found it impossible. The average passage of the ships during the Egyptian expedition, was six weeks from Mocha to Cosseir, a fortnight of which took them to Jidda, as the wind is fair to Jibbel Teir. Our pilots told us we should be more than that time in getting there, and we should be obliged to stop to take in water, of which the ship could not carry a quantity more than sufficient for forty days; and also provisions of every kind, of which they did not pretend she had above two months stock on board: of bread she had not one months. These articles are not to be procured in Egypt. The Antelope's bottom was also in a state that prevented her sailing quick. The Captain was evidently alarmed,

and would not carry much sail; I could not therefore calculate on getting to Cosseir in less than eight weeks. If I staid there, I had only a week to write to Mr. Rosette, to receive his answer, to prepare a guard of camels, to pass to Kenne, and thence to secure boats to go down the Nile. This would have taken up at least six weeks; and for my safety it was necessary that, after that, the ship should wait till I could send back intelligence of my safe arrival. Unless, therefore, I meant to deliver myself into the hands of the greatest thieves and robbers in the world, without any protection; my stay at Cosseir was out of the question; to get in a week to Suez from Cosseir was impossible; and indeed in all probability it would have been three weeks. My stay there, to make the necessary preparations, would have been at least a fortnight, and the subsequent delay about a week. Unwilling, therefore, as I, of course, was, to measure back my way, and submit to the confinement of a ship for four months, I was compelled to do so, and I determined to write in the morning to Captain Keys, directing him to go to Mocha, where I could consult with Mr. Pringle; and wait there for Captain Vashon, who would probably give me a passage to Bombay, where he would arrive with the coffee in time for me to take my passage in one of the Chinamen. By these means I should be certain of getting to England in January. The moment I quitted the Antelope she came under Captain Vashon's command.

June 10.—I wrote very fully to Captain Keys pointing out the impracticability of my getting up to Suez, within the period he had prescribed, the absurdity of my wandering about till that time in a rough sea, and giving him notice that I should prefer com-

plaints against him to the Supreme Government, for a breach of orders. I concluded by giving him notice, that in a few days I should return to Mocha. His answer, which came at night, was merely a denial of disobedience, referred every thing to the Goverment of Bombay, and ended by saying he should go on board the next morning, and would send a boat for me at any hour I pleased. I informed him he was mistaken, as it was not my intention to go to the ship on that day. I sent to the Nayib to say I should not want the pilots, and gave them ten dollars, as a compensation for the trouble they had had in coming over. The Dola of Dhalac arrived, and paid me a visit: I suspected he brought over presents to the different men, for our landlord got two goats, one of which he gave to Mr. Salt, and the other to the Doctor. The latter has had plenty of patients, but in general they were cases of debility from intermittent fevers. A man was removed this night to the island of Sheik Seid, who was said to have the small-pox.

June 11.—Captain Keys went on board in the morning. I wrote to him, and requested two of the Europeans might assist my servant in collecting shells and madrapores, as I should have no future place to touch at, where they would be found in such variety. This was complied with immediately; and on Mr. Macgie's going on board, he was told that he need not go again at four o'clock, which he had hitherto been obliged to do, though there was not one sick man in the vessel. In short, the Captain seemed to be in high glee at having escaped the dangers of the voyage; an idea that superseded every other; or else he expected that he should, by his politeness in future, prevent me from exercising that retaliation which was so completely in my power. The Nayib sent in the evening to request that I would

come to his house to meet the Captain, or that he and the Captain would come to me. This I positively refused, and declared I had now nothing more to say to the Captain. The Nayib wished, they said, to persuade us to pursue our original plan of going to Suakin. The fact was, he would have got at least one hundred dollars out of the two hundred which the pilots were to have received, and he did not like to lose the money.

My servant and the men brought some very fine specimens of madrapore, and the natives some new shells. At night we heard a most terrible uproar of women, screaming and crying: on enquiry we found that a dow had arrived from Jidda, and brought intelligence of the death of the master of one of the neighbouring houses, whose brother was in the service of the Nayib. On going out, we found the street crowded with people, all crying, as well as the women within the habitation. The tom-toms soon set them a dancing; and this continued to our great annoyance all night, with only occasional intermissions. They told us this would be continued every morning for two years; but as the town has been free from this nuisance since our arrival, and probably several people have died within the last two years, I did not give credit to their assertions.

We learned from the dow that Captain Vashon arrived at Jidda about ten days before she sailed; I hoped, therefore, he would soon get down to Mocha. The Nayib in the evening sent to request some vinegar, and something to smell to for the head-ach. I sent some Chili vinegar, and one of my silver stopper bottles, filled with volatile alkali, which were acceptable.

June 12.—Early in the morning, all the women in the town were

down at the water side in their best cloths, to wash themselves and the widow in the sea, after having assisted her all night in her lamentations. At the end of four months she may marry again. None of them attempted to keep their faces covered. Their dress consisted of two pieces of the striped cloths of Arabia, one worn round their middle, and another over their shoulders, but both without any making. Their hair was plaited, whether woolly or not: the pains taken with these plaits, when the former is the case, conquers nature, and gives a length of several inches to the hair. They wore ornaments of beads, small hoop ear-rings of gold or silver, and sequins. The dress of the men is nearly similar. The higher order wear the Arab dress, or a plain shirt and drawers of the same: the common people, a single wrapper round the middle. They use sandals, as drawn by Niebuhr. My servant and the men went off with the catamaran for the islands. The boys brought a great many shells: some were good. I sent to Captain Keys for the cutter to be here early to-morrow morning to take the people round the bay to renew their search.

June 13.—At four the cutter was ready, but the lascars had no water or provision; they were therefore obliged to go back to the ship to get them. They returned at night without the least success.

June 18.—Nothing particular occurred during five days; we had been chiefly employed in packing the madrapore. The air till the 18th had been much hotter; the wind rather southerly. The clouds hung over the Habesh hills, and rain on the 16th fell so near as Arkeko. It lightened much, and thunder was heard at at a distance: dappled clouds covered the horizon every morning. The thermometer was never above 96°, yet the want of the usual

breeze made us suffer more than if it had been 100°. The Nayib left Massowah on the 16th, and the next day sent to say he would come back, which I requested he would not. The man who was ill of the small-pox died yesterday. No wonder the disease is so fatal, as the natives confine the patients, as soon as they are seized, to a warm room. After the Nayib's departure I had no water nor any thing else sent me, and was consequently obliged to buy, which we considered as a hint that they wished us gone; the seamen were allowed water only from Arkeko, of which they complained bitterly, as having a mixture of the sea water, no more of the water of the place being allowed to be sold, except to me. I this day notified to the Captain my intention of going on board to-morrow morning. His reply was, that the boat should be sent for the things, and that five to-morrow would be the best time to sail.

The day was a busy one, and I was pestered with visitors. Mr. Macgie and the sailors went on board at six, and Abou Yusuff watched me very closely lest I also should make my escape. The Banian brought me a piece of Habesh cloth, and Mr. Salt a pair of horns. We were told the Nayib had been at the wars against the Bedowees, and had driven them away, having taken one prisoner, and retaken the cattle they had driven off. He threatened to return before I went. I learned Captain Keys had bought a boy slave, in defiance of the Nayib; a gross violation of his orders, which may have an unpleasant effect on those who come after us. I was very much vexed at discovering that I had lost my thermometer, a thing which could be of no value to any native. My servant was quite as much so on missing a shawl and several shirts of his own. I have found living here by no means cheap, though the necessaries

of life are not dear. The following is a list of several articles with their prices.

A few rhinoceros horns are to be had at $7\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per frassel.

Gold per Massowah wakea, $11\frac{3}{4}$ dollars. N. B. The Mocha wakea is to the Massowah as 5 to 6.; 10 wakea yield one of silver, as they say.

Civet, $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per wakea.

Rhinoceros horns, $7\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per wakea.

Elephants teeth, 22 dollars per frassel.

A good female slave, 60 dollars.

A good male ditto, according to his age, from 40 to 80 dollars.

Rice per bag of 105 lb. 5 dollars.

A rotol of gee, 2 dollars.

Fowls, 12 for a dollar.

Goats, 2 for ditto.

Sheep, 2 for ditto.

Cow, 1 for 5 dollars.

Camels, 4 to 5 dollars.

Horses, 100 dollars.

Mules, 15 to 50 dollars.

Asses, 3 for 4 dollars.

Water, 23 skins for a dollar.

Fire wood, a man's load for 3 dahab or harf (360 beads)

Sequins do not pass current; dollars and Venetian glass beads are the only money in use; 2760 of the latter make a dollar. The subdivision is into 23 dahabs of 120 beads each.

The whole charge of the Nayib, for water, wood, and fresh provisions during our stay for the use of the ship, was sixty dollars.

The people are extremely civil, and seem perfectly happy. The soldiers have each three dollars per month, which proves that that sum is adequate to maintaining a family. Many fruit and vegetables, I have no doubt, would grow here. I saw none of the former, and of the latter only a species of Solanum. From the highest to the lowest they are importunate beggars, and, from my experience, I can add, occasionally thieves. The usual price of a house is one dollar per month; yet my landlord was ever asking for something, and seemed hardly satisfied with the ten dollars which I gave him for the twenty-six days I had occupied his house. I saw several Abyssinians, and had much conversation with them respecting their country. The account that they gave me was found afterwards by Mr. Salt to be in many respects inaccurate, and must be uninteresting to the public, as I shall have the satisfaction to give, in a future part of my travels, the observations which were made by him and two other gentlemen, during a residence of several months with the Ras Welleta Selasse, in the province of Tigré.

June 19.—At five in the morning I escaped in the Captain's boat from all my beggars, except from Abou Yusuff, and the Banian, who determined to attend me to the ship, which had already quitted the harbour. The land breeze was fresher than usual, and a considerable swell came from the northward, but the Captain continued his course, and it was two hours before we overtook him, when the sun was already extremely powerful. I gave the Banian a shawl, in return for many little presents he had made me, though I knew that he had handsomely profited by purchasing every article I wanted for my table. He had been extremely attentive, and deserved a reward. He had some difference with the Captain before he left

VIEW OF MASSOWAH.

Published 1 May 1806 by William Miller, 1 Dorset-St. Fleet-St. London.

the vessel, but I did not enquire into the cause. I sent a sword by him to the Nayib, as a last proof of my regard, with many wishes for his health and prosperity. He and Abou Yusuff at length departed, I believe, well satisfied with the presents made them. We had already stretched out a considerable distance from Massowah. The breeze was pleasant, and after rounding the point of the shoal, we anchored in Antelope bay, within a quarter of a mile of Valentia Island, by four o'clock. The Captain wished Mr. Maxfield to survey it, and I consented to stay two days for that purpose. Mr. Salt and he went out in the evening to measure a base. It was so sultry that I slept on the deck.

June 20.—Mr. Maxfield was too ill to go out; Mr. Salt went to take some bearings, and I obtained a boat and some sailors to attend my servant in collecting shells. The heat was very great, and my situation extremely unpleasant, as I did not converse much with the Captain. As Mr. Maxfield was too unwell to continue the survey of the island, I determined to depart the next day. A great quantity of biscuit was this day condemned and thrown overboard. I heard that the salt provisions were in an equally bad state, and that there was only a small quantity of spirits on board, it was therefore fortunate that we did not continue our voyage; yet the Antelope was reported to me as being ready for sea.

June 21.—We weighed anchor at five with a pleasant breeze from the W. N. W. The dow went a-head; after clearing Antelope bay she kept farther out from the land. The man at the mast head, about half after nine, called out that there was shoal water a-head: no notice was taken by the officer of the watch, and we passed over the identical shoal, which we had in going up observed and

laid down. Fortunately for us there were three fathom and a quarter on it, so we passed in safety. It is only a few hundred yards in extent. Our dow was of much use. We sailed all night; light airs and pleasant. I slept on the deck.

June 22.—We continued along shore till night, confirming our chart by new bearings. We found it as accurate as we could expect. A light breeze; little sail carried. At night still less.

June 23.—At day-light Jibbel Zeigur was E $\frac{1}{4}$ S.; the Abyssinian land hardly visible through the haze. At nine Jibbel Aroe bore from E $\frac{3}{4}$ S. to S. E $\frac{1}{4}$ E. We passed it before dark, leaving on our right the white rocks, which we had seen from Bunder Baileul. We found that instead of a cluster of small rocks, the Aroes consisted of one large island, with five or six to E. and S. of it of different sizes; the passage was seven miles wide at least, and there was apparently deep water close to the shore and rocks. We then made with a freshening breeze for the Arabian coast, which was visible, but did not reach it till near twelve, when we cast anchor. There was a considerable swell.

June 24.—At six we were again under sail and coasting down; by seven saw the town of Mocha: before twelve came to an anchor, closer in than we were before. The swell was much less than when the wind blew from the south. We were much surprised at the colours not being hoisted on the factory, but a boat coming on board, we learned that Mr. Pringle was well. I requested the boat to go on shore, which was ordered, and I landed about two o'clock. Mr. Pringle was excessively astonished to see me, believing me dead, from my flag not being hoisted, and there being no salute. I soon explained to him the cause, and took possession of the upper

apartments at the factory. We found here an American ship which came from Salem near Boston, for a cargo of coffee.

June 25.—To my great astonishment I was informed this morning that two English boys belonging to the Antelope, who had been left here in consequence of illness, had deserted to the Dola. I immediately sent my servant to them to enquire the reason, and to try to persuade them to return. Their answer was, that the evening before they had been sent for by Captain Keys, who asked them if they were not quite well; they replied, nearly so. He then said he supposed they were tired of being idle on shore, and would be glad to return to the ship. They said they had not been idle, and that they liked best to be on shore, because they got plenty to eat. "Very well, gentlemen," he replied, "you will be pleased to go on board to-morrow morning, and I will give you a note to Mr. Hall, who shall punish you for this." This, they said, decided them, and in the night they got over the wall. One fell, and was severely hurt. Both had the liver disease, and must inevitably perish in this climate; I therefore consulted with Mr. Pringle, and we determined to do all we could to get them back. Captain Keys sent for my ship servant, and gave him a lecture for presuming to obey me in going to the boys without his permission. He also declared his resolution of visiting the Dola himself. We were sorry for this, but conceived we had no right to interfere: as his threats had driven them away, it was not very likely that any declaration of his would bring them back. They could have no confidence in the promise of a Captain of the Bombay marine, after a transaction that took place during the expedition to Egypt. A man was delivered up by the Arabs to the Captain of the Cruizer, on his

pledging his honour that he should not be punished; yet, as soon as he had him in his power, he tied him up, and flogged him, in the presence of the very people to whom he had made the engagement. A promise is by the Arabs considered as most sacred, and the laws of hospitality bound them to protect the man; their indignation, therefore, was excited beyond all bounds. The Banian, who attended Captain Keys, informed me that the boys repeated this story, and told him they would never go back.

When I applied to the Dola to let me and Mr. Pringle see them, it was positively refused, though in the morning it had been acceded to; he pretended, that as the Captain had seen them, it was unnecessary that any one else should. As a last resource, I wrote to Mr. Pringle's interpreter, the Hadgi, who was at Sanna, to make the strongest remonstrances to the Vizier, to claim them as my servants, and to represent that the offence was greatly aggravated by their being taken from the factory, which was more immediately under the protection of the Imaum. I likewise desired that he would obtain for me a definitive answer, whether they were determined to persevere in their present system of encouraging our sailors to desert, that I might, on my return, be able to represent the case properly to the India Government. The extent of this evil calls loudly for remedy, and nothing can in my mind be easier, as a single ship would oblige them to restore every renegado. Some years ago the French bombarded the town, in consequence of the Dola's not paying a debt of seventy thousand dollars. They first fired on his house, where they killed several persons; and afterwards on a Friday (the sabbath of the Mussulmauns), threw a shell into the great mosque. This brought the Dola to his senses, and the cash

was paid. He even grew so polite as to lower the duties from three to two and a half per cent. Our character certainly suffers very considerably in the eyes of the native powers for having so long submitted to the insult.

The system of decoying away seamen in a Mussulmaun port, which is so very serious an inconvenience to all Christian ships, is not done from any religious motive, but from an idea that all Christians understand the working of great guns, and to this office they are all destined. In the time of Niebuhr the pay of a renegado was one dollar and a half per month; it was then raised to two dollars and a half; and within the last ten months has been encreased to four dollars, in consideration of the high price of every article. The Captain of the renegadoes is an Italian, who, thirty years ago, came here in the command of a native vessel from India: he turned Mussulmaun, sold the vessel and cargo, and shared the profits of his villainy with the Dola of that time. He is now the active instrument in inducing others to desert their religion; he watches for them on the pier, and invites them to the Jew's town, where spirits are to be purchased. If intoxication follow they are carried in that state to the Dola's, whence it is not easy to make a retreat. A shew of liberality is kept up by permitting their friends to see them for the first three days, during which time they are never circumcised, but the most liberal offers are made; and the temptation of free access to the women can seldom be resisted by the sailor. Repentance soon overtakes them from poverty, and the deprivation of their usual comforts.

They are not much troubled on the score of their new religion, though at first they are obliged to learn the necessary prayers, and

the forms of prostration and ablution. These are acquired at Moosa, a town about thirty miles up the country. On their return to Mocha no compulsion is used to make them attend the mosque. At present there are only four white renegadoes, though numbers deserted from our fleet during their stay here. It was then thought necessary to conciliate the Yemen Government; and consequently, though threats were used by several officers, whose men deserted, yet nothing was done, and the Arabs were confirmed in their insolence by our forbearance. One man deserted from Captain Vashon during the time he was here. He was immediately demanded from the Dola, who in very haughty terms refused to deliver him up, advising the Lieutenant, who delivered the message, to keep his men on board, if he wished them not to turn Mussulmauns. He was permitted to see the man, who on being asked why he took such a step, turned away without condescending to give any answer. Captain Vashon, though extremely indignant, did not feel himself justified in resorting to violence, and very properly avoided using any threat, which he did not mean to carry into effect. I wish every officer had done the same, and our character would have been more respected in Yemen.

July 4.—I heard there had been great confusion on board the Antelope since our arrival; yet Captain Keys tranquilly staid on shore: on the 2d, indeed, he went on board to punish two men, one of whom he immediately sent on board an American vessel which came in after our arrival. By what authority he did this it would be difficult to discover, as I can hardly conceive that a power is vested in the officers of the Company's marine to transport his Majesty's subjects. The man came to me, and informed me that he was

a deserter from the Lancaster, Sir Roger Curtis. Another of the Company's apprentices escaped, as I learned, on board the American. The Captain of which said, very properly, that he believed he was there, but without his knowledge or consent, and that he wished the Antelope's people would find him. They searched the ship, but without success. She sailed on the 4th of July, and with her two of his Majesty's subjects.

Another of the seamen, also a deserter from a King's ship, fled to the Dola, and became a Mussulmaun. He, and the one who sailed in the American, were the two that were on shore with me at Massowah. Mr. Hall went to see him, but was only abused.

The heat of the weather was more oppressive than I had hitherto experienced; the winds were northerly, and extremely warm, though the thermometer was only 92° and 94°. I could bear no covering at night, and was so completely relaxed, that I was obliged to take a few glasses of wine. The swell in the road is much less than when the southerly winds prevail. The rains fell every day to the northward, and on the mountains of the interior, but not a drop reached Mocha. We obtained grapes, which were tolerable, and some very indifferent figs and peaches.

Since my arrival here my suspicions at Massowah have been fully confirmed. The masters of the dow, on being interrogated by Mr. Pringle, declared that Abdulcauder was sent to them by the Captain to advise them not to procure a pilot, to represent that if they did not, I should be obliged to go back to Mocha, and that they would get their four hundred dollars for nothing; on the contrary, if they went on, they would not only have to pay one hundred for a pilot, but would incur the danger and expense of a long voyage

with a contrary wind. Abdulcauder admited that he was sent, and that he did deliver the message. I found also from them, that he declared his objections to the voyage before he left Mocha, saying, all he wanted was to go strait to Suez. The dow's bargain was to hire only one pilot at Massowah; consequently Captain Keys's demand of hiring two, was unjust.

July 6.—I was again awakened to be informed that two more boys had run away from the Antelope. They were two of the youngest apprentices, and swam away in the night. This was the more astonishing, as two sentinels were mounted every night. Mr. Pringle represented in the strongest terms to Captain Keys the shameful degree of negligence that must have taken place, to enable these boys to escape; and advised him, at any rate, to punish the sentinels, if he did not choose to go on board and look after his ship himself. He said that he had done all he could, by ordering an officer's watch; that he could not punish the sentinels, as he should then be obliged to put the officer of the watch under an arrest. There was no replying to so military and conclusive an argument. Mr. Hall came on shore early, and, on receiving the Captain's instructions, went to the Dola. He saw one of the boys, and asked him if he had turned Mussulmaun. He said, yes; on which Mr. Hall drew forth a pistol and attempted to shoot him. Fortunately it was not primed. The guards rushed on him and poor Devagée', who was frightened out of his life, and secured them. The Dola only said, "Carry that madman to Mr. Pringle." Had he wounded the boy, his own death would probably have instantly followed; and even the factory might have been in danger, as we had no intimation of his intention, and the gates were left open.

Mr. Pringle reprobated his conduct in the strongest terms to Captain Keys, who said that Mr. Hall had acted contrary to his written orders, and, if Mr. Pringle pleased, he would put him under an arrest. Mr. Pringle desired him to do as he thought proper, but that he should make no request on the subject. He went on board, and no notice was taken of the transaction.

To our very great delight, the Fox frigate came in sight early in the morning, and towards noon was at anchor in the roads. I wrote to Captain Vashon, merely stating that Captain Keys's conduct had been such, as to oblige me to abandon my voyage; that I would explain to him the whole if he would send off a boat, and ended, by requesting him to give me a passage to Bombay. The boat immediately arrived, with a very kind note, offering me every accommodation the Fox could afford, and saying he should wait dinner for me. He requested to see Mr. Pringle on business, who therefore accompanied me on board. He saluted me as usual. I found that he had come down from Jidda, in consequence of the Wahabees successes. They had taken Yambo, and were besieging Medina, which must soon be starved into a surrender. The Sheriffe, much alarmed for Mecca and Jidda, the only two places remaining in his possession, came down to the latter place to see Captain Vashon, to whom he had applied for assistance; and particularly requested, that the Fox would accompany his fleet to retake Yambo. Adversity had lowered his pride, and he was all politeness and attention; yet, during the Egyptian expedition, he had treated Admiral Blanket with the greatest insolence, and no Englishman could land there without being insulted.

Captain Vashon did not conceive it prudent to comply with any

of his requests, but said he would with the utmost expedition communicate them to the Government of India. The application had at his desire been made in writing, signed by the Sheriffe and Pacha, who were, I believe, not a little disconcerted by his answer. The delay will, I suspect, be fatal to them. Provisions were already so scarce at Jidda, that the Sheriffe could not supply the Fox; and as the Wahabees were in possession of the whole country, they could only be procured by sea. The Janisaries from Yambo and Cosseir had come down thither, the latter of which places the Mamelukes had seized, who prudently sent away the Turkish soldiers; for if the enemy intended starving them out, this increase of force will only hasten their ruin. Captain Vashon brought down a man to buy rice, but the quantity to be procured at Mocha is but small. I proposed to Captain Vashon to let the Antelope return to India with his dispatches, as she was of no farther use to me; and I thought the sooner she was gone the better, as she was daily losing her men. He approved of my plan, and it was decided that I should resign my nominal command the next day, and that she should be ordered off as soon as our letters were finished.

July 7.—Captain Vashon came on shore in the morning, to whom I communicated all that had passed. I wrote officially to give up the vessel, and notified the same to Captain Keys, at the same time requiring the assistance of the apprentice Thomas Smith, who had acted as my servant during the voyage. This he complied with; and here ended all my connections with the Antelope. As I had much to represent to the Government at Bombay, which could not be done by letter, and, as I thought it advisable that no misrepresentations should go abroad previously to my arrival there, I

I requested Captain Vashon would o der Captain Keys to give Mr. Salt a passage, in order to deliver safely my dispatches to Mr. Duncan, and forward those for his Excellency the Governor General. With this he complied, and I immediately began writing.

A singular circumstance occurred that evening. The Italian renegado came to Mr. Pringle, and earnestly requested that he would try to induce the two last boys not to stay at the Dola's, as their situation would be wretched. This he would have never dared to do without the Dola's consent; and it seems an additional proof of the idea I entertained, that religion had nothing to do with their receiving deserters. These boys are too young to be of any use, and he would be glad not to pay them the four dollars each per month for doing nothing. The Dola seemed considerably alarmed that day: during our dinner all the guns on the batteries were shotted. A portion of his fears may be attributed to the Fox's having moved this morning much closer to the northern fort.

July 10.—One of Captain Vashon's Maltese marines deserted to the Dola. He was perfectly drunk, and refused to return with the officer. Captain Vashon applied to Mr. Pringle, as Resident, for his opinion respecting the effect it might have on the India Company's trade, if he should deem it eligible to support the dignity of the British flag, by recurring to force to obtain the whole of the renegadoes. The reply was indefinite: that he thought after the ships were loaded it would be of little consequence, so far as the coffee trade went, as that only amounted to 1700 and odd bales per annum at an average of the last ten years, and it might be procured elsewhere; but that a very large import of India goods took place annually; and how far that might be injured he could not venture to say.

Surely Mr. Pringle might have recollected that the Imaum or his subjects procured the money to pay for the articles, only by the sale of their coffee, and that, consequently, the one trade would follow the other, whether to Loheia, Hodeida, or Aden. Captain Vashon has sent on board the Antelope, and taken out four men whom the officers pointed out as being suspected by them to have deserted from King's ships. One fellow who has turned Mussulmaun, broke out of the hospital, and, as it is said by himself, a man was killed in the affray. He however sent to me to beg a Bible. I complied, and thought it my duty to write to him, warning him of the criminality of his conduct. I received a long answer, in which he told me he could now be as good a Christian as before, and indeed that he had more time to pay his respects to God Almighty. The two unfortunate boys, that were left here, are recovered from the effects of their change, and removed into the Dola's house, where they are particularly well treated. They are to be put into the cavalry: but when this Dola departs, his successor will probably use them like the rest, and wretched will be their fate. I hope Government will take some steps to assert the dignity of the British flag, and recover to their country those, whose youth may, in some degree, palliate their desertion.

July 13.—I have seen the man above mentioned; he had been up at Moosa, and came down, without leave, to beg some medicine from me. He had applied to the Dola of the place, who told him, that if he prayed as often as he did, he would not be ill. The man looked wretchedly, and told me he was afraid I was right in saying he should soon repent it. One of the boys who fled from the factory was very ill with the liver complaint, and extremely low spirited,

constantly reproaching his companion for having persuaded him to take such a step. They were all to set off in a few days for Sana to be shewn to the Imaum. The change of climate, with bad food, will probably soon end them. Sana is extremely unhealthy to Europeans and natives of the Tehama. It was probably their residence there, and journey through the mountains, that laid the foundation of those diseases that carried Mr. Niebuhr's companions to the grave.

Mr. Salt sailed on the 9th in the Antelope, for Bombay, with a strong breeze from the N. W. He took with him letters for Mr. Duncan, in which I officially forwarded to him charges against Captain Keys. I also sent a detail of all that had passed, together with copies of the correspondence between me and Captain Keys, to Major Shawe, to be laid before his Excellency the Governor General.

Captain Vashon has proposed to go down to Aden for a fortnight, and, as I feel myself extremely relaxed, I wish to try the air of the more open sea, and have accepted his invitation to accompany him; the 15th is fixed for our departure.

July 15.—I went on board the Fox to breakfast. It was however calm, and we did not sail till noon. We passed the straits at seven, and found a most pleasing difference in the climate. It was cool, except when a strong gust of wind came off from the promontory. In the night it became nearly calm.

July 16. —We were off Cape St. Anthony. A brig was in sight at day light, to which we gave chase. She proved to be an American from Salem, but last from the Isle of France. The calm continued most part of the day, with a heavy swell from the eastward

of south. Still the air was cooler than at Mocha, and I felt myself most sensibly relieved.

July 18.—With variable winds we got by four o'clock to an anchor in Aden roads, distant from Fortified Island about a mile. The swell was much more considerable than I could have expected, as the wind came right over the land. The town of Aden has a most miserable appearance from the sea. It is nearly a heap of ruins, out of which two minarets and two mosques rear their whitewashed heads. The rocky peninsula, on which the town is situated, has all the appearance of the half of a volcano, the crater of which is covered by the sea, and on the edge of which lies the town: the rocks rise to a very considerable height. On the summits are numerous small square forts; and a second ridge towards the bay is covered with the ruins of lines and forts. Fortified Island was also covered with works, so as to resemble the hill forts of India. It must have been impregnable; and a very little trouble would render it so again.

That the trade of Arabia should at present have quitted Aden, with its excellent harbour, for Mocha, an open road, liable to very heavy gales of wind, can only be attributed to the sovereign of Mocha having been till lately in possession of the whole of the coffee country; but as his kingdom is torn in pieces by the Wahabees, Aden will probably recover its former importance, and again become the mart of an extensive trade, as it was in the time of the author of the Periplus; who most certainly designated it under the name of Eudaimon. It is the only good sea-port in Arabia Felix, and has the great advantage over every harbour, within the straits, that it can be quitted at all seasons, while it is amost impossible to

repass Bab-el-Mandeb during the S. W. monsoon. The present heaps of ruins and solitary minarets, give but little idea of the splendour which Marco Polo describes it as possessing in the thirteenth century; any more than the humble Sultaun of a little territory will bear a comparison with the Mussulmaun chieftain who could then bring into the field 30,000 horse.

Aden must then have been at its highest state of prosperity, and was, probably, from the commercial convenience it afforded, the capital of Arabia Felix. Its decline seems to have been gradual, for in 1513, Don Alphonso Alburquerque found the fortifications sufficiently strong to twice resist his attack, although trade had in a grea tdegree fled to Mocha and Loheia.

Aden appears to have tranquilly remained under its Arabian masters till this period, when hostilities between the Soldan of Egypt and the Portuguese having induced the former to bring ships across the desert, and embark them on the Red Sea, a naval war took place between the two powers, and its excellent harbour rendered Aden an object of great importance to each party. In 1516 it was attacked by the fleet of Selim, who had conquered the Soldan of Egypt; but without success: however, in 1539 Soolimaun Basha, when proceeding to attack the Portuguese in India, treacherously seized the sovereign of Aden, and got possession of the place. The fortifications were greatly increased by the Turks, and some of their enormous pieces of cannon were mounted on the walls. It was considered as a place of such importance, that so late as 1610, when Sir Henry Middleton was there, it had a Basha, as Governor, and the walls were still very strong.

As the power of the Turks gradually declined, the Arabians,

by degrees, threw off their yoke; and in 1708 Aden was found by the French in the possession of an Arab prince. The fortifications were in ruins, and the baths were the only places which, by their rich marbles, bore any marks of ancient magnificence. These have now totally disappeared, and not a single piece of cannon defends the walls. The Sultaun has a small tract of country belonging to him, which he has hitherto defended from the Wahabees. He is much attached to the English, and offered to hold his country under them; at the same time giving a proof of his sincerity, by admitting the whole army of Colonel Murray within his walls.

Banians from Mocha reside here, to carry on the trade with Berbera, and purchase the myrrh and gum arabic, which is still brought hither by the Samaulies, and pays to the Sultaun a duty of three per cent.

An American was in the harbour, on board of which a son of the Honourable Mr. Goodhues, a senator of the United States, was supercargo. Mr. Pringle had written to him by me; I forwarded the letter, with an invitation to come on board the Fox.

July 19. — By day-break Captain Vashon and I went on shore, to look out for a place to pitch our tents We found a tolerable one on the ruins of the houses near to one of the rocks. The Sultaun's house is a very wretched one externally; all the others seem of basket-work and matting. The wind freshened very much as the sun rose, and by eleven it blew so strong that we were obliged to let go another anchor. It was fortunately right off the land, but the hills formed eddies, and caused the gusts to be very violent. Mr. Goodhues came early and staid the whole day. In the evening it lulled, and the tents were pitched on shore.

July 20.—The wind was very hot, but at night I returned on shore to sleep. It was extremely unpleasant from the heat. The Sultaun came in at noon. He always comes down for some time at this season; for what purpose I know not.

July 22.—On the morning of the 21st I left the shore for the ship. The wind freshens every morning from the W. or S. and blows all day hot like an oven. At night it lulls, but too late to enable us to go on shore. The nights are cool and pleasant, but there is a considerable swell. At this season, Aden is altogether, a most unpleasant place. Grapes and pomegranates are to be had in plenty, but no vegetables. The beef has hitherto been bad, but we were promised some good bullocks, that had been sent for by the Sultaun.

July 25.—The wind continued as usual; except that on the night of the 22d, so violent a gale commenced all at once, that every body expected our anchors would have been brought home. The heat and dust were insufferable. The swell also was very great during the day. As, therefore, living on shore was impossible, and we had no particular business at this place, it was determined that we should set sail on the 27th to return to Mocha. A very great variety of dead shells is thrown upon the beach: but there are no shoals, and we were unable to procure live specimens. I purchased some from the crew of the Fox, which they got at Jidda, and had several given me by Captain Vashon and Lieutenant Flint. The boats were sent out every morning when the weather would permit, but with very little success. At first, for some reason, the natives sent us off bad water; but on strong remonstrances we procured as good as need be wished.

The pier does not extend far enough out, for the boats to reach it at low water: this is extremely inconvenient. The Sultaun procured us excellent bullocks; he was himself the sole dealer in these articles. He was extremely civil, sent Captain Vashon and me a present of a cow, two sheep, and seven goats, and invited us on shore, saying, he had horses, &c. at our service. The limes are excellent, and in profusion. Fire wood is to be obtained. The climate is healthy, and I suspect we were particularly unfortunate in having it so unpleasant. Our tents were blown down and torn to pieces.

July 27.—Yesterday the wind was so violent that no boat put off after the early part of the morning. One that went on shore was nearly swamped in returning. My servant went out on an ass, and procured me another plant of the balsam of Mecca, and some seeds. At seven in the evening it suddenly fell calm, and a light sea breeze sprung up. Last night it began to blow at half past one; but, fortunately, this morning it became moderate, which enabled us to get off our tents, bullocks, fruit, and water. Towards evening it again blew so fresh that we left our anchor behind us when we weighed for sea.

July 28.—A ship was in sight early, bearing from the Straits: we gave chase, and neared her considerably, till it fell calm. We suspected her to be a French privateer, and cleared for action. She hoisted American colours, but immediately took them down again. At night she was out of sight.

August 2.—The vessel we chased steered in so strange a way, that we did not wish to leave her and, consequently were considerably delayed. On the 29th she was visible in the morning, but astern. On our firing a gun to leeward, and hoisting our colours, she

took no notice, but continued her way. The winds were extremely light from the south, with frequent calms. The moment we passed the straits, the change in the atmosphere was most singular: the heat became so great that the cabin was insupportable: and the prickly heat came out in one night with more violence than I ever before experienced. The chase for these two last days has been ahead, and this morning we perceived she had run to the N. of Mocha roads. We got into an excellent birth off the north fort at six this evening. The heat had been so oppressive that I determined to go on shore, though the gates were shut, and therefore landing at the pier was out of the question. We got as near the beach as possible, to the south of the town. The water is so shallow that the men were obliged to carry me a considerable distance. We got in at a little wicket, which is kept open till eleven. Mr. Pringle had given over expecting me, but my old comfortable quarters had been prepared for my reception. The night was a little pleasanter than the last.

August 3.—At length the ship came into harbour, and proved to be an American, last from the Isle of France.

I found that, on our coming in sight, all the boys that had run away from the Antelope had been sent up to Moosa, lest we should persuade them to desert back again. They were in a wretched state, and sorely repented the steps they had taken. They had not the indulgences of other Mussulmauns, but were considered as a kind of slaves, and obliged to do as they were ordered for their four dollars a month, a pittance scarcely sufficient to keep them alive; yet were the Dola who converted them to be recalled, even this would be diminished. I received the following reply to my application to

the Imaum: "That old customs could not be altered; that no man had ever been given up who had applied to the Dola; that he knew the English were very powerful, and wished to do every where just as they pleased; but that, with the blessing of God, nothing would happen."

By the American that came last, a letter was received from a Banian, who went down to the Isle of France, to obtain the repayment of the money he had advanced for several years as rent of the French factory. He took with him two Arabs, and I strongly suspect that they were sent to make application to the French Government there, for assistance against the English. The above speech of the Imaum seems to confirm it.

I learned that several applications were made at the American's ship for the letter, and that they expressed the greatest alarm lest Devagee should get hold of it. The letter of course could not be procured by us, but the contents were published in part; highly extolling the French power, and stating that they had taken sixteen sail of our China fleet, and brought them into the Isle of France. This could only have been said to encourage his employers. The report was contradicted by all the Americans, to the great displeasure of the Dola.

Another circumstance confirmed my suspicions respecting the application to the Isle of France. The Americans have been supposed by the Arabs to be friends of the French, and have been frequently spoken to as such, asking them if they were not so, and assuring them that the Arabs all were, and wished to see the French back again.

Some very fine specimens of the shells of this shore were pro-

cured by Abdullah, a servant of Mr. Pringle, and two boys that went out with him. I employed myself in sorting and packing my shells, and other curiosities, for Europe. Botanising was out of the question, from the intense heat of the climate: rarely is the thermometer under 90° day or night, and generally it was 92° or 94°. The wind was frequently southerly, more especially towards the middle of August, when the sun became vertical; at other times it was a calm for hours together.

Mr. Pringle requested me to visit a Seid called Sidi Mahomed Akil, a man of very considerable property, who had the best house in Mocha. He was a Wahabee, and much hated by the Dola. Though occasionally there, he was a native of Morabat, where his wives lived: he had also houses at Jidda, Muscat, and somewhere on the Malabar coast. He had married a relation of the Imaum, but not liking her, sent her back the next morning, with her dowry. As I wished much to see an Arab house, I complied with Mr. Pringle's request to visit the Seid. The house was lighted up; and as he had notice of my visit, every thing was in the best possible order. He met me at the door, and hurried me from one flight of narrow steps to another, till at length we reached two very pleasant wooden rooms on the summit of the house, the sides of which were composed of venetian blinds: they were carpeted, and had English elbow chairs covered with cushions.

We were served with sherbet spiced with nutmegs, and afterwards with coffee, scented with cloves. We abused the Dola most cordially; and as the Seid had just come from Jidda, we afterwards fell on the Sheriffe. He seemed to think, that however the Sheriffe might resist for a time, nothing but a strong external assistance

could prevent his being ultimately starved into a surrender. The force of the Turks was estimated at about 1000; these are superior to any Arabs, and would be quite sufficient to defend him from the Wahabees. The Seid mentioned that he was going to Bombay, and hoped I would there assist him in obtaining some favour he wished from Government. I told him I had no such power; but as I should be at Mr. Duncan's, I would willingly obtain him an opportunity of making his own application.

The conversation became more free than I expected from an Arab. He laughed about the women, and asked me if I wished to become acquainted with all the secrets of the harem. I said, certainly. He then said he would give me a book which would answer that purpose. From what he afterwards said, it must much resemble a work of Peter Aretine, well known in Europe. He however forgot his promise: other things intervened, and I never got the book. The next morning, he sent me a history, and a collection of fables. He had a library of some hundred volumes, chiefly polemical, and among others, a most beautiful Koran in Persian and Arabic characters, written on vellum. The pages that faced each other had the same sentences in each language; the whole was richly ornamented. He valued it at two hundred and fifty dollars. The rooms below, that I saw, were of a good size, and were filled with many nick-knacks which he had picked up in his different voyages. On my taking leave, we had rose water thrown on our handkerchiefs. He conducted me back to the door. There can not be a tronger instance of the timidity of this Government, than its permitting such a man to live in the town; he is in avowed correspondence with the Sheriffe of Abou Arish, and, through him, with the Wahabee Chief Jund. Possibly,

however, the Dola may have been making terms for himself. He was only continued in his office because his successor was sent to Beit-el-Tahih, where the Wahabees were making rapid encroachments. He found, however, that he could not resist them, and has returned to Sanna, saying, " that where there were many outgoings and few comings in, it was useless to stay." He may now resume his appointment to the Government of Mocha.

On the 14th of August, the Banian of the Nayib of Massowah arrived on his own affairs. As he was in perfect safety, it was more easy to make him speak freely. He spoke of the Nayib as a most excellent man, but allowed that he was much controlled by his brothers, and those about them, who were very great rascals; and he confirmed what I had before heard, that, immediately after my departure, they had obliged him to give up to them a great proportion of the presents I had made him. The poor Banian gave a melancholy account of his distress after he quitted the vessel to return to Massowah. He had no water with him, and could not drink any which was contaminated by having passed through the hands of Christians.

He informed me, that since my departure, the Aboona of Abyssinia had died, and that fifty people had arrived thence, on their way to Egypt, to fetch another; a circumstance extremely agreeable to every body at Massowah, as they were respectable people, and spent a great deal of money. The Nayib receives one hundred ounces of gold; but the Janisaries, not existing, cannot receive forty ounces, as Mr. Bruce asserts, though they possibly did so, in much more ancient times, when the power of the Porte was unbroken. The Ascarri, who may be considered as their successors, receive

nothing, as the Banian most solemnly declared. The Nayib also claims, and receives, all the horses and mules belonging to the messengers. I was much gratified by finding that the Abyssinians had desired the Banian to enquire if there were any English vessel at Mocha that would undertake, for a handsome reward, to convey them to Suez, and bring back the Aboona. It shews a flattering opinion of our national character.

In a conversation at Massowah with my landlord, Abou Yusuff, the assertion of Mr. Bruce, that no one would be permitted to enter Abyssinia by that place, had been confirmed. I asked the Banian his opinion, and was surprised to find that he positively asserted the contrary, and that, to his knowledge, the Nayib would have no objection. I enquired if there would be any danger in the journey. He said not the least; that he would be answerable that the Nayib should place any one in the King's presence at Gondar in perfect safety. I then asked, what the Nayib would take to do so, finding horses, mules, guards, &c. from Massowah to Gondar? He said, four hundred dollars; and, on my repeating the questions, said, he would himself be responsible for it, and would, if I pleased, give it me under his hand. I had no reason to doubt his assertions; yet I could not help suspecting, that the brothers of the Nayib would attempt to extort presents from any unprotected traveller.

My friend Seid Mahommed Akil got into an unfortunate dispute with Captain Vashon, to whom he had applied to permit two native vessels, bound for Cannanore, to sail without delay. He declared they were both his, and gave a certificate under his hand that they were so. They were accordingly permitted to depart. He next applied for leave to sail in his own dow, which was also

complied with, on his pledging himself that he had no specie on board except his own. The very morning of his departure several Banians went to Mr. Pringle, and informed him that all the Surat merchants agents had sent specie by him, and even brought a list of the bags with their private marks, and to whom they belonged. Of this Mr. Pringle sent instant notice to Captain Vashon.

The dow had actually quitted the harbour, but boats were sent after her, and a shot fired. She took no notice of this, but a second went right over her, and brought her to. People from the ship were sent on board her, but the wind and current rendered it impossible to get her along side of the Fox. The Seid went on board to Captain Vashon, and complained greatly, declaring he had no cash but his own, (the money was in two bags, the outer one with his name, the inner with the true direction). The information received was too positive for Captain Vashon to mind what he said; the dow was therefore ordered along side with him on board her. By the negligence of the warrant officer on board her, the dow got among the others in the harbour, and the Seid escaped to the shore. He immediately applied to the Dola for assistance to protect the vessel, and complained heavily of the British Captain's conduct. The Council met, and sent to request Mr. Pringle would come to them, which he did. The Seid stood out, that he had no money but his own; and Mr. Pringle declared he would prove the contrary. He produced the list, and the tables were completely turned. The Dola said the money must be relanded, as it had not paid him the half per cent. duty on the export. Mr. Pringle said he had no idea that Captain Vashon would permit this. The Dola remonstrated, and said she had been detained in the port, which was an insult to the Imaum.

This Mr. Pringle denied. The Dola said, the whole sea from Perim to Camaran belonged to the Imaum. This Mr. Pringle ridiculed in the strongest terms, and warned him, that he had better take care what he was about, as it might lead to hostilities between the two countries.

A circumstance, which I had omitted to mention in its proper place, led however to a different determination. The Fox, a few days before, had been driven on shore in consequence of her anchor coming home, but fortunately the ground was soft. It lulled immediately afterwards, and the tide was rising; she therefore escaped with the loss of her rudder only, and was in safe anchorage by night. The rudder was found the next day with only the iron work damaged. A forge was erected on shore to repair this, and it was in part completed when the dispute took place. An officer and some Europeans were on shore to superintend it. Captain Vashon fully perceived, the moment the dow got close to the shore, that he could not without open hostilities secure her removal. From the unprotected state of the Europeans on shore, and the incapacity of his ship to go to sea, he was induced to abandon her, and accordingly withdrew all his men by signal. As soon as the Dola learnt this, he became extremely valiant, and ordered twenty soldiers and an officer on board the dow. These received two dollars each from the Seid, and the officer ten. On enquiring what he was to do if the English soldiers resisted, (they very well knew that all had been withdrawn two hours before this time) he was told gravely, he was to fire on them, and use the power put into his hands.

Mr. Pringle then interfered in the name of the Honourable Company, and demanded that the treasure might be landed and examined. This was done: and, of course the bags he had described

were found. Captain Vashon had mentioned to Mr. Pringle the certificate respecting the Cananore ships belonging to the Seid, and was assured it was a gross falsity, accordingly he gave the paper to Mr. Pringle to show the Council, thereby to prove what a rascal the Seid was. On its being produced, his confusion was very great, and he attempted to deny his hand writing, his signature being in English characters; Mr. Pringle, however, proved it, by producing a great many other papers signed by him in the same manner, with his signature in Arabic underneath. He was now completely convicted, and received a severe reprimand from the Bas Kateb and Kadi, the other two Members in Council. Since this transaction the Seid declares he will not go to Bombay, and has been proposing to the Americans to take him to the Isle of France. I presume he is now so angry with the English, that he wishes to get assistance against them from that place. The Americans having asked him one thousand rupees for his passage, which he would not pay, I afterwards heard that he determined upon sailing in his own dow for Muscat.

When the Fox was aground, application was made to the Imaum's minister for their boats, which was positively refused; and we were subsequently informed that he expressed his hopes she would not get off, as then he should obtain her guns and powder. This expectation was in consequence of a claim made here, that all wrecks belong to the Imaum. The Forté frigate was, on a similar occasion, given to the Sheriffe of Mecca by Admiral Blanket: this they consider as a precedent. In this, however, he would have been mistaken. She would not have gone to pieces; and a battery with two hundred men would have commanded the town, and secured a safe

depot for her stores. She was ready for sea before the 24th, the day fixed by the merchants for the departure of their vessels; nor did she make any more water in the twenty-four hours, than before the accident.

On the 23d I went on board, with my servants, and was received by Captain Vashon with the usual salute. For several days past I had been extremely indisposed, which I believe was chiefly owing to drinking some French claret brought by the last American. The heat of the weather too had been very oppressive, and I was rejoiced to try a change of air. Mr. Pringle dined with us, and took his leave.

We did not sail till the 25th. We passed the Straits that night, and were the next day overtaken by a severe squall. Not one ship had put herself under convoy, or received a single order. However, the ship, the brig, and the two dows laden with coffee for Mr. Forbes, sailed at the same time, and Captain Vashon determined to see them safe, at least, beyond Cape Aden, where alone it was probable a French vessel might lie to intercept them. This had been the case once during the last war, when there was no convoy, by which the native merchants lost nine lac of dollars. Had it not been for this, we should have taken advantage of the squall, and got far on our way; as it was, we lay to. We had constantly light breezes to the end of the month, with a current, sometimes to the northward, and sometimes to the southward of E.

On the 1st of September we were carried by a strong southerly current within sight of Mount Felix, and, to our great mortification, instead of being looking out for the land of India, we had not yet got clear of Africa; an extraordinary circumstance for the season.

September 4.—For these three last days we had been at the mercy of the currents, which run strongly to the S. W. nearly fifty miles a day; we have therefore been losing ground. A westerly wind sprung up, and we were in hopes of a change in the current, if once we could get out of the Straits.

September 5.—We now got a current to the N. E. and with light airs got on tolerably well, though not as we had a right to expect.

September 6.—A good S. W. monsoon, and N. E. current.

September 11.—This day the current continued eastward, running about a knot an hour, with a fine monsoon. On the 10th, for the first time, we had rain.

September 13.—It was so fresh a monsoon that Captain Vashon did not think it safe to venture into Surat roads, which are totally unprotected; we therefore directed our course for Bombay. By three o'clock on the 12th Malabar Point was in sight, but we were not close in with it until this evening, when an officer came on board us from a Company's cruizer, anchored at the mouth of the harbour, and immediately took us in. It was dusk, but the scenery was still sufficiently visible to be admired. The islands that separate it into several parts are covered with wood to the top; beyond them the main land rises into a chain of mountains of the wildest and most picturesque forms imaginable, to which the Island of Bombay, covered with cocoa-nut trees, forms a contrast by its flat figure. It was dark when we came to an anchor: no King's ship was there. I immediately sent a note on shore to Mr. Salt, to request that he would notify my arrival to Mr. Duncan, and would come on board in the morning.

42643

45043

CHAPTER III.

Residence at Bombay.—Departure for Poonah.—Harbour of Bombay.—Panwell.—Campaly.—Tillegam.—Reception by a deputation from his Highness the Paishwa.—Arrival at the British Residency near Poonah.—Account of the Dusserah.—Visit to the Paishwa—visit returned.—Dreadful famine.—Dinner at the Paishwa's country house.—Dinner given by the Dewan of the Empire.—Paishwa's character.—Political observations on the Mahratta Empire.

CHAPTER III.

SEPTEMBER 14.—Before seven in the morning Mr. Salt came on board, accompanied by Major Green, the Town Major of Bombay, bearing the Governor's invitation to me to reside at his house during my stay. I left the Fox soon afterwards under the usual salute, and on landing received a similar compliment from the fort. Mr. Duncan's palanquin conveyed me to the Government-house, where I was met by himself, and most kindly congratulated on my arrival. After breakfast he expressed his extreme regret at the misconduct of Captain Keys, who, he informed me, had been under an arrest since his arrival. He also kindly assured me that, whatever were my future plans, I should have his best assistance, and that, if I should determine to go to Suez or Bussorah, he trusted he could find me a better vessel than the Antelope, and a better commander than Captain Keys.

The kindness that I invariably experienced from Mr. Duncan, and the stock of information of which I found him possessed, made me almost rejoice that I had been obliged to return from the Red Sea. The anxiety which I had experienced during my voyage was fully compensated by the discovery, that the western shore was navigable, and that it could supply provisions. I lost no time in communicating to the Marquis Wellesley the result of my voyage, and urgently represented the eligibility of a small vessel's being

dispatched to Massowah, to continue the survey from that island to Cosseir. I at the same time stated to his Excellency my intention of returning to Europe by the Persian Gulf, and requested he would have the goodness to send me letters of recommendation to the Pacha of Bagdad. I expected that this Chief would afford me every assistance in crossing the Desert, as he was anxiously looking for assistance from India to resist the incursions of the Wahabees, and had actually an Embassador in Bengal, who had been received with every attention, had had all his expenses paid, and the crazy vessel in which he had arrived, repaired at the public expense. I therefore preferred throwing myself on his protection, to again braving the adverse winds of the Red Sea. As the answer could not be received from Calcutta in less than six weeks, I thought the interval would be very satisfactorily filled up, by paying a visit to Poonah; I therefore wrote to Colonel Close, the British Resident with the Paishwa, to inquire whether he conceived it would be politically advisable; and if he did, to request that he would state to his Highness my wish to pay my respects to him. I was obligingly favoured with an immediate answer, expressing the satisfaction it would give him to receive me at the Residency, and informing me that the Paishwa was much pleased at the idea of my visit, which he wished should take place at the approaching festival of the Dusserah, which would commence on the 13th of October; a wish with which I most readily complied.

On the 6th of October every preparation, as I understood, had been made for my departure by the orders of the Governor: tents had been sent on to the different stations at which I should stop; forty bearers had been procured for our three palanquins, and the

Governor's gold sticks had been ordered to attend me. Captain Young, who was stationed at the first post in the Mahratta country, as Commissary of stores for the army in the field, had orders to provide every thing, and attend me himself to Poonah. Above the gauts Colonel Close had undertaken to form arrangements for my conveyance.

The river, on which Panwell is situated, is in the dry season only an inlet of the sea, and navigable to that place at high water; we were therefore obliged to consult the tide. It turned at eight, and we set off with it, under a salute of fifteen guns from the fort. The Governor's Aides-de-camp, and Major Green, attended me to the water side. The balloon boat, from its drawing less water, was preferred to the yacht; it had a cabin, and held us very well. The harbour improved in beauty as we advanced. The islands are, in general, covered with wood; but Butcher's Island is clear, except at the northern side, where several buildings are erected close to an old Mahratta fort. Among the lofty hills, which formed a back ground to the scene, Funnel Hill was most conspicuous from the singularity of its shape: the summit has all the appearance of a vast pillar, elevated in the centre of a flat, on the top of a rock. The whole range of hills is singular in its appearance, and continually afforded subjects for Mr. Salt's pencil. We passed between the islands of Salsette and Elephanta, where the bay begins to contract in its dimensions. The sea breeze here overtook us. The entrance to the river Pan is defended by a small fort, which was built by the English, and formed into a depot during the old Mahratta war: it is now nearly in ruins. The river was full; the trees being actually half covered by the water. The paddy fields

presented a cheering prospect by their healthy state, and even the mountains were covered with verdure, except where their smooth surface was broken by rocky pinnacles rising to a great height. The clouds floated around them, and occasionally, in part, concealed them from our view, which greatly improved the scene. High cultivation and picturesque scenery have no where in India been so perfectly united.

The tide had just turned as we reached the landing-place near the village of Panwell. I was extremely shocked at discovering the vultures and Paria dogs disputing over the body of a poor wretch, whom the recent famine had hurried to a better world. Captain Young employs twelve men to bury the bodies, at an expense of forty-five rupees pér month. They have sometimes performed this office to thirty in a day: during the rainy monsoon, the average was twenty-five. The want of rain had caused a scarcity, which had been heightened into a famine by the devastations of the Mahratta war. Holcar and Scindiah laid waste whole provinces, and through a vast extent of country left neither tree nor habitation. The British power has hitherto protected the Guzerat, Cokan, and the neighbouring poor of Bombay. It has even gone farther, and has daily fed twelve thousand people from the stores of rice procured from Bengal.

They are now reaping the first crops, but poverty still renders numbers the victims of famine. Captain Young is hardly settled, and his habitation is new; it is situated on a rock, which in the rains, is an island. His business has been to forward all the stores for our garrison at Poonah, which would otherwise have been almost starving. These proceedings have been fortunate for the poor, as

H. Salt Esq.r Del.t

J. Fittler Sculp.t

VIEW FROM PANWELL.

nearly five thousand people have been employed, who have had provisions from the stores; one hundred and fifty people have also been charitably fed every day at the kitchen on rice; yet the deaths for six months are estimated by Captain Young at four thousand. Rice being procurable here, the poor wretches exerted themselves to crawl down, and perished even in sight of the house.

The Aumildar of the district came to wait on me with presents of fruit, whom I permitted to sit down, in consideration of my being in an independent country. He was a handsome Brahmin, but was very troublesome, and wished to tax even the Bombay people, that were here on public service. In consequence of a reprimand, he was obliged to desist. I therefore paid him little attention. The village seems populous, and is prettily situated on the banks of the river, in a plain surrounded by lofty mountains, one of which much resembles the table-land of the Cape. The priest of the tomb of Kurrun Ali Khan also waited on me. It is a neat building, with a dome, and two small pinnacles, that peep out from a grove of mango trees. Kurrun, he informed me, was a native of Lucknow, who lived here for six years. There are twenty-five readers of the Koran attached to the tomb.

I was much mortified to find that the tents had not been carried on, and that the superintendant of our stores was not even arrived. The bullocks could not carry the tents, and we were obliged to apply to the Aumildar for cooleys. These were not obtained till night, so that all removal was impracticable. We found Lieutenant Smith at this place, a complete invalid; and as Dr. Murray, who attended me in a medical capacity, thought that the journey up the Gauts might render him essential service, I persuaded him to join

our party. Dr. Murray's and Captain Young's palanquins and bearers had not made their appearance.

October 7.—Our Italian superintendant arrived early this morning, and by ten we got his baggage, as well as our tents, safe on the way. The widow of the famous Nana Furnese sent me some breakfast, with her salaams. She is a young girl of sixteen, and is said to be pretty; he married her when an infant; she resides here with her uncle. Our Mussulmaun priest sent us some excellent rice pancakes; as he had also the credit of being a good curry-maker, we persuaded him to go on with us. Before breakfast we walked through the village to visit a pagoda. It was dedicated to Mahadeo, and had nothing to recommend it, the pillars being wood, except a good tank in front of it. The building was filled with poor, who live there, and beg in the town. Some children among them were living skeletons, with scarcely a muscle to be seen. As we returned we were shocked by one of Captain Young's charnel-men dragging a dead body in a state of putrefaction. The Mussulmaun tomb has also a tank covered with the red and white nymphæa in high beauty. We dined early in order to get off in time; when it came to the point, our Mussulmaun friend would not go, and the Italian was left behind, as his horse was not arrived. The part of the village that we now passed through is extensive, and we were happy in not beholding so many wretched objects as on the other side. The paddy fields, as we proceeded, had in many places interrupted the road, and rendered it difficult to pass. We winded among the hills, and, at half-after seven, reached our tents, close to the village of Choke or Chouke, a distance of thirteen miles. We had only one large tent, so that some of us slept within, and the

others, in their palanquins, under the outer fly. In consequence of the tents not being sent forward a day before, we were obliged to wait there till after breakfast; and indeed with difficulty we procured men sufficient to carry them on.

October 8.—The Aumil of the district came and brought fruit, fowls, and kids, which we accepted. It was the middle of the day when we set off; we passed through a country like that of yesterday: the crops very fine, and nearly ripe. The hills preserve their strata perfectly horizontal. We passed several miserable wretches hardly alive, and an occasional stench too often informed us of the vicinity of dead bodies. We reached Campaly, a stage of twelve miles, by day-light: it is close to the foot of the pass, surrounded by hills covered with jungle, and has a very fine tank, and a neat pagoda. Several small streams were descending from the table-land, and a rivulet ran through the village. All ideas of pleasure were however banished by the sight of several wretches who were too weak to raise themselves up, to receive the charity that was offered them. Close to the choultry were bodies in every state of decay; some with their cloaths on, that could not have been dead above a day or two; others with only a small portion of flesh left on their bones by the vultures and jackals. The vale was so small, that the tents could not be pitched at a sufficient distance from the effluvia, to prevent its occasionally reaching us.

October 9.—We set off at half-past five. For a great part of the Gaut we were obliged to walk, though it was by far easier than the Bessely Gaut, nor was it half its length. The village of Candalla being just at the top, we had sent our breakfast to it. There is a very large tank, and below it a plain, which exhibited a

more horrid spectacle than Campaly: above one hundred dead bodies lay upon it, on which the vultures and Paria dogs were feeding: famine was in every face, several houses were uninhabited, and the last victims had never been removed from the places where they perished. We assembled all the poor that were alive, and gave them several pice each. The harvest is now so near that it may be hoped not many more will perish. We had but little appetite for breakfast, and hastened from this scene of horror. The country was fine and well cultivated. Our bearers were in high spirits; the air was cool, and we reached a spot near the celebrated caves of Carli by half after eleven, a distance of fifteen miles, where Colonel Close had pitched his tents for our reception, which were excellent, and with them was provided every proper convenience. The Killadar* of the Esapoor fort came to pay his compliments; he had a guard of native soldiers, and told me his garrison consisted of two thousand. A messenger bearing excellent butter, and a profusion of fruit, arrived from Colonel Close, who sent to say, that we need not reach Poonah till the 12th. For the first time we had the good fortune to be at a distance from any village, and its melancholy accompaniments; a mango tope formed a screen to the south, and a pellucid tank was in our front. A very heavy thunder storm discomposed us a little, as the rain beat partially through the tent. The crashes of thunder were the most tremendous I ever heard, and were so close as to give reasonable ground of alarm. The Esapoor Killadar came again in the evening with fowls, sheep, &c. It rained again in the night.

October 10.—The want of cooleys obliged us to stay breakfast

* Militiary Governor.

where we were, and make our own people assist in carrying the baggage. It was as cool as in England during summer, and consequently the men got on well. The whole way was through a valley covered with pieces of agate, onyx, and cornelian. The hills were green to the top, and the paddy fields frequent. We halted two miles from Tillegam, the Rajah of which place sent his servant, who spoke English, to congratulate me on my arrival. Our stage to-day was twelve miles.

October 11.—The cooleys came, but too late for us to set off before breakfast. The road lay through a level country, without cultivation or trees, except near the village. The Rajah of Tillegam had sent his head man early in the morning, to invite me to visit him as I passed through. I excused myself, as I had not yet seen the Paishwa. The truth was, I did not know the proper etiquette, and wished to consult Colonel Close. I however expressed a hope that I should be able to see him on my return. I passed to the right of Tillegam, between it and a fine tank. I saw no very wretched objects. I reached the tents a little beyond Chinchoor, a distance of twelve miles, by half after twelve, having passed through a populous town, and forded a river. Captain Frissel arrived from Colonel Close to attend me to Poonah.

October 12.—At day-light I entered my palanquin: the gentlemen rode, except Mr. Salt and Lieutenant Smith. The country had been devastated by Holcar, and the village of Ound, situated on the bank of the river Moola, was nearly in ruins. On the opposite shore I was met by Lieutenant Colonel Close, the Resident at Poonah, and the officers of the British detachment at that place. The Colonel had elephants, camels, and a very well dressed suwarry.

We alighted and mutually paid our compliments, afterwards forming one party. A little to the westward of the village of Gunnais Coondah, so called from an adjacent temple dedicated to Gunnais, the deputation from the Durbar of his Highness the Paishwa was waiting to receive me, close to a small pagoda which commanded a view of Poonah, distant two miles. The Chiefs were on elephants in covered houdahs. A large body of horse was drawn up: the officers made their salaams, as I passed along the line. At a little distance I halted, and the Colonel went on. A carpet was spread on the plain: the deputation alighted, and, after a few minutes, I advanced. We met on the carpet. Each person was presented separately to me by the Colonel, and embraced; we then seated ourselves without chairs or cushions. The chief person was Abbah Poorundery, the Jaghirdar of Sapoor, a handsome young man, with an expressive countenance, and pleasing manners. He wore several ornaments of pearls and jewels. He was accompanied by Anund Row, the Paishwa's Minister for the British affairs; Kistnagie Bowannie, the assistant Dewan of the state; and Seedogie Row Nepawnkur, who commanded a body of horse, along with General Wellesley, during the late campaign in the Deccan. There were also several Maunkarries, officers whose duty it is to attend the Paishwa on all visits of ceremony: these were seated behind. Anund Row delivered the congratulatory compliments of his Highness on my arrival near his capital. He expressed his satisfaction that it had taken place at so propitious a season as the Dusserah, and hoped it was an omen of the continuance of friendship between the two nations. Colonel Close replied in my name, with the general Asiatic expressions of regard for his Highness, and

my conviction that the friendship would be lasting. As they were considered to be my guests, I presented to the Chiefs pawn and attar with my own hand. Colonel Close's Dewan gave pawn only to the Maunkarries. We all then arose, and having made our salaams, departed; they towards the town, we to Colonel Close's residence at some little distance from it. When I alighted a salute was fired from the English lines, and the guard was turned out with presented arms.

After the hurry of a march, and the inconvenience of a tent, I found myself most pleasantly situated under Colonel Close's hospitable roof.* His gardens are on the banks of the Moota, where it joins the Moola, and forms the Mootamoola river. This runs into the Beema, which again falls into the Kistna. It is singular that by these means a person, when not forty miles distant from the western shore of the Peninsula, might proceed by water to the Eastern Sea. It is a charming spot, adorned with cypress and fruit trees. At the point a very handsome bungelow is erected, where breakfast and dinner are served; at one end is a billiard table for the idlers. The Colonel keeps a very excellent table; beef, however, out of respect to the prejudices of the natives, is never used. Holcar, when here, had so little control over his Patan troops, that the sacred animal was frequently slaughtered. Sir Charles Mallet, when he first came as Resident to Poonah, was obliged to live in a wretched house in the town, which had been provided for him: finding this extremely unpleasant, he pitched his tents during the summer on the banks of the river, but on the commencement of the rains was forced to return to town. He remonstrated very much, and at length obtained permission to erect a temporary

house in this garden. One night it was burnt down, and Sir Charles being then enabled to complain with effect, was allowed to build the bungelow, which now is used as the Resident's office. Still not a fence was permitted; and even the present Resident had great difficulty in obtaining permission to erect a gateway and several additional buildings. The large bungelow on the banks of the river was built for a festival, at which his Highness assisted, in commemoration of the conclusion of the Mahratta war. On the opposite bank the natives burn the dead bodies, and afterwards commit the remains to the stream.

October 13.—This was the day of the celebrated Hindoo festival of the Dusserah. The Paishwa was to attend, and perform a principal part. As I had not been presented to him, it was contrary to etiquette that I should fall in his way; I was therefore obliged to observe the festival at a small distance. As soon as his Highness quitted the palace, Colonel Close and I mounted our elephant, and attended by the horse guard and suwarry, proceeded across the river to the British lines, where all the troops were drawn out in line, with the artillery on the left. We retired behind them, by way of being incognito. His Highness passed obliquely along the line to a spot where a branch of a tree had been stuck in the ground. Here he descended from his elephant, and performed the proper ceremonies, which we could not observe. On their being concluded a royal salute was fired. His Highness then mounted, and passed in front of the line from right to left, being received with presented arms. The regimental colours were lowered, but not the King's; and as he passed the artillery, another royal salute was fired. He was mounted in a howdah of looking glass, and had but little su-

warry. The only interesting part of the sight was the British troops, now for the first time assisting at this holy ceremony, at the capital of the Hindoo empire. Formerly Holcar, Scindiah, and the other chiefs, used to attend, and their prodigious bodies of horse covered the surrounding plains. Whole fields were then devastated, the Paishwa himself setting the example; but now his attendants only gathered a few heads of grain. After celebrating together this festival, they were accustomed to set out on their predatory excursions into the neighbouring countries; but these excursions are now probably terminated for ever. It was considered a fortunate day to begin a war, after a celebration of the victory obtained by Ram over the giant Rawan.

As I could see but little, I applied for information, through Colonel Close, to the most intelligent Brahmins, who gave me the following account. "When Ram was on his way to attack the giant Rawan, who had carried off his wife Seeta, he arrived at a place called Kiskinda, which was governed by an ape or monkey named Walee. Walee had seized the wife of his brother Soogreoo, and expelled him from the town. Soogreoo, attended by four other monkeys, viz. Hunoomân, Nul, Neel, and Jamoowunt, took up their abode on a mountain six coss from Kiskinda. Ram happened to pass over the same mountain. As soon as he was seen by Soogreoo at a distance, the latter sent Hunoomân to ascertain who he was. Hunoomân explained to Ram the case of Soogreoo, and prevailed on him to espouse his cause; and he then introduced them to each other. In a short time Ram destroyed Walee, restored the wife of Soogreoo, and gave him the government of Kiskinda. Ram, attended by Hunoomân, on whose back indeed he rode,

moved from Kiskinda to attack Rawan on the 10th of the moon Aswin, which is celebrated as the Veejya Dasmee, or the 10th of victory, generally called the Dusserah. The first night Ram halted under the shade of a tree called Gokurnee,* which derives its name from the resemblance of its blossom in shape to a cow's ear; go, in Shanscrit, signifying cow, and kuru, ear. Ram then performed his devotions under the tree, which was itself one of the objects of them. When the devotions were finished, the monkeys by whom he was attended brought him leaves of the Gokurnee, as the only offerings then in their power to make. In a short time, however, all the leaves of the tree were expended. They then brought the leaves of another tree, that was at hand, called Aptah; and, when they were all expended, the leaves of a third tree, called Shummee, were brought. Ram then ordained, that, if he should be succesful in his expedition against Rawan, devotion should for ever be paid to those trees on the Veejya Dusmee, that is, to one at a time; to the Gokurnee, if procurable; if not, to the Aptah, or last, to the Shummee. After the monkeys had made their offerings to Ram they interchanged the leaves among themselves."

This is the history of the origin of the festival, as given to me by a learned Brahmin, who consulted his friends on the subject. The Aptah was the tree used here: I saw the leaves; it is a species of Bauhinia. When a tree is not in a convenient situation, a branch of it is procured, as was now the case. The ceremony is described in the Shanscrit books, that treat on the ceremonies of the Hindoos to be observed each month throughout the year. The same Brahmin gave me the following account. "The devotion paid

* This was brought me at Chinchoor; I think it is a Cassia. The shummee was also brought: it is a Mimosa.

to the tree on the Dusserah, may be performed by every Hindoo of every cast, without the assistance of a Brahmin; neither is it necessary that any part of the person's clothes should be taken off. First, he throws a little water over the tree or branch. He then throws on a few grains of rice. He next rubs on a little powdered sandal wood mixed in water. He then ornaments it with flowers. A little sugar, or any sweetmeat, and some betel nut, prepared in the usual manner, are then laid before the tree as offerings, and some is given to a poor Brahmin, who also takes the money laid before the tree. This concludes the ceremony, which is celebrated throughout the Hindoo governments. At Poonah, however, an addition is made, which is not ordered by any of their books. The Paishwa receives a number of leaves from the bough, which he gives to his followers, and which they interchange, in imitation of the monkeys. His Highness afterwards holds a durbar, where nazurs of, from two to five, gold mohurs are presented, and in return he gives each a leaf. He also sends Khelauts and leaves to the Rajah of Sattarah, and Scindiah. The Brahmin could not say that there was any motive for, or effect assigned to, the exchange of leaves. I should suppose it was a kind of compact that they would assist each other in their approaching warfare. It took place in the evening, and it was nearly dark when we got home.

October 14.—His Highness had fixed on this day to receive my visit of ceremony. The fortunate hour was about four o'clock; when, having received intelligence that the deputation from the durbar was on the opposite side of the river, we set off. I was attended by the Colonel and suite, my own suite, and our suwarries. A salute announced my departure. The Paishwa's minister for British

affairs, and the assistant Dewan of the state after paying their compliments, put themselves at the head of the procession, to show me the way to the palace. They were attended by a large body of horse, and some soldiers; an escort of British infantry waited also on the opposite shore, and joined my suwarry. On entering the place before the palace we found his Highness's cavalry and guard of infantry drawn out, with his elephants and suwarry: they were by no means splendid. As we passed under the Nobit Kanah the kettle drums beat. Within the walls the servants were all at their posts, and the crowd considerable. In the windows were numbers of the higher orders. We quitted our palanquins at the foot of the stairs, which we mounted, attended only by our Chubdars and Ausubadars. A small anti-room led to the durbar. At the door I waited a few seconds, till I saw that the Dewan of the state, Sadasheo Maunkesor, was sufficiently near; when, having quitted my slippers, I stepped on the white cloth with which the whole room was covered, Colonel Close supporting my left arm. I embraced the Dewan, and presented the officers of my suite. At that moment the Paishwa entered the room, and stepped on his guddy or throne. I hastened towards him, supported as before, by the Colonel, with the Dewan on my right. His Highness continued standing, and slightly embraced with his right hand, I doing the same. His brother was on his right, to whom I was next presented, and who also embraced me. I then returned and presented to the Paishwa the gentlemen of my suite, who were also embraced. We then sat down. The Dewan was next his Highness on the left, but rather behind: I was close to him; next to me was the Colonel, and then the other European gentlemen. We had no chairs or

cushions, and were not permitted to put out our feet, as showing the sole of the foot is considered disrespectful. His Highness had no slippers on.

The etiquette of the court is silence: and when any thing is said it is in a low whisper. I spoke to the Colonel, who translated it to the Dewan, who stretching himself out towards his Highness on his knees with his hands closed and raised up, in a low voice reported what I had said. By the same conveyance the answer was returned. By the direction of Colonel Close I first enquired after his Highness's health, and was answered that he was well, and hoped I arrived in good health at Poonah. I then asked after the health of his brother. The message was carried across the room, in front of the guddy, by Anund Row. The answer was complimentary. His Highness now expressed a wish, through the Dewan, that we might retire into a more private place, that the conversation might be more free. This originated solely from himself, and was as unexpected, as it was flattering. Indeed, the whole of his Highness's conduct had evinced a wish to pay me every attention. The deputations sent to meet me were the highest honours he could bestow.

I immediately arose and followed him into a very neat small room, attended by Colonel Close, the Dewan of the state, the sub-Dewan, and the minister for British affairs. His Highness seated himself on a small turkey carpet in the corner of the room. He placed me next him on his left, and the rest formed a part of a circle in face of him. He now began a very interesting conversation, in which he considerably relaxed from his etiquette, smiled, and frequently spoke immediately from himself to me and Colonel Close. With all the disadvantages of interpretation, I could fre-

quently perceive that he gave a very elegant turn to the expressions he used. Among many other compliments, he expressed a wish to give me a fête at his country house, to which I with pleasure assented. This had been previously arranged, and was to take place after he had honoured me with a visit. On political subjects he spoke fully, and clearly, and seemed much better informed than I had reason to expect. After about an hour we returned to the Durbar. I was so extremely tired with my position, that it was with some difficulty I could rise, and for a few minutes was obliged to rest against the wall. No conversation passed after he was seated on the guddy. Pawn was placed before him in a large gold plate; on the top was a gold box, containing a parcel of the same; attar, rose water, and spices, were in the same line. Anund Row, the minister for British affairs, gave rose water, pawn and attar with spices to all the party, except the Colonel and me. He began at the lowest, contrary to the etiquette of the other Asiatic courts that I have visited. The Dewan gave pawn, rose water, attar, and spices to the Colonel; to me he gave attar and rose water. We then arose, and his Highness presented me with the gold box, filled with pawn from his own hand. As I was to visit him at his country-house, the giving of presents was deferred till that time. We made our salaams and retired, the Dewans attending us to the door. We then returned as we came; but the sun being set, there was no salute.

His Highness and his brother were in plain white muslin dresses, without a single jewel. The Dewan of the empire had some handsome flat diamonds in his turban, a necklace of emeralds, and large pearls, and ear-rings of gold, suspending the finest pearls I ever beheld. They were perfectly round and clear, and were as large

as the pupil of the human eye. The palace is a tolerably handsome building, and was very clean. The Durbar room is large; it is supported by wooden pillars handsomely carved. His guddy was of white muslin, richly embroidered in gold and coloured silk. His attendants stood round without the pillars, except a few with silver sticks. Holkar did not much injure the palace, but he carried away every thing moveable; a small armoury and the elephant-houdahs did not escape. The town is indifferent; several houses are large, and built with square blocks of granite, to about fourteen feet from the ground; the upper part is a frame work of timber, with slight walls merely to keep out the wet and air. The lime, bricks, and tiles are so bad in this country, that the rain washes away any building that does not depend on timber for support. A great plenty of this useful article is brought from the gauts and the westward; it is not much dearer than at Madras. Holcar's stay did not improve the town. He pulled down several large houses in search of treasure, and they say found a great deal. We forded the river both going and returning; the foundations of a granite bridge rise above the water; but they were laid in misfortune, and superstition will not therefore permit their superstructure to be completed. A bridge of boats had been laid across by General Wellesley, but it has not been kept up.

The spectacle of dead bodies on the banks of the river, in every state of putrefaction, was truly distressing. During the famine, many were murdered for the rice they had just received from British charity, which, I am proud to say, extended to this place, whither a very handsome subscription, amounting to 40,000 rupees, was sent, which had been collected at Bombay under the

patronage of Lady Mackintosh. Colonel Close had the distribution of it: he had previously fed fifteen hundred people daily with boiled rice; but the sight of the food rendered them nearly frantic; confusion ensued, and numbers lost their share, particularly the more helpless. The Colonel therefore determined that this contribution should be distributed in money, each person to receive sufficient to purchase one good meal in the four and twenty hours. Eight pice were adequate to this; children had a smaller sum, who, with the women, had the preference. About five thousand daily were relieved, and it sustained them till the new crops were gathered in, so that their lives were actually saved to society. The money operated less on their feelings, than the food: the confusion was consequently less. It was regularly the business of an officer, with a guard of sepoys, to superintend the distribution. The sending up of rice from the coast was considered as ineligible, from the expense of conveyance. Indian wheat and juwarry had already been got in; rice was expected to be so in about a fortnight. The officer commanding the garrison was particularly careful in protecting the fields around the town; the English name is therefore very popular among the lower orders. The guard of one hundred seapoys was not more than sufficient for these purposes. Several Brahmins, who were no objects of charity, mixed with the beggars, and tried to obtain a share: when detected, they were instantly punished with four dozen lashes, in defiance of the holiness of their character; nor has this been since objected to. His Highness feeds a great number of his own cast, but his charity has not extended further.

It is impossible to teach a native Prince the duty of protecting his subjects. During the scarcity, the number of lives saved by the

Residency were many, not only by food, but attendance and wine, when necessary. The poor wretches, during the rains, perished by hundreds, even in sight of the house. General relief was impossible. Not only would they have sold their children, but they would have been grateful to any one who would have accepted them. Now the evil is over. Leasing is allowed in India, which at this moment feeds many. Any person may earn sufficient to maintain him by going to the fields and working, or even bringing in a bundle of grass. The camp sustains many hands. In no country are the means of life procurable with greater facility than in the Mahratta states; it is a garden, which would produce crop after crop as fast as they could be sown. Tanks might every where be formed, so as to render a supply of water certain at all seasons. The wretched objects were not numerous as I passed through the town.

I had intended, on the 16th, to receive the Vakeels of the native powers, who might be at Poonah; but the Vakeel of Scindiah being on the eve of his departure, obtained permission to pay his compliments this day. His name is Juswunt Rao Goreporah; his family is very respectable; one of his relations, Morari Row, held Gooty from the Poonah Government, and was one of its Generals: he is mentioned by Orme. From the respectability of the family, the British, on the conquest of Mysore, gave to them the little district of Sondoor, a beautiful valley, situated between Chittledroog and Neydroog, and completely surrounded by the British territory. Juswunt Rao Goreporah himself is high in Scindiah's confidence, and was the Vakeel appointed by him to negotiate the late treaty of peace with General Wellesley. His other Vakeel, Naroo Hurry, also waited on me: the former alone spoke. The conversation was

merely complimentary; but they expressed great anxiety for the arrival of General Wellesley, whose presence will give confidence to all our allies. They received pawn and attar on their departure. General Wellesley has a great regard for Juswunt Rao Goreporah, and considers him as a steady friend to the English.

October 16.—The other Vakeels paid me a visit in the morning, and received the usual compliment of pawn and attar. Among them was the Vakeel of Imrut Rao, the adopted brother of the Paishwa. Ragonaut Rao had no hopes of children at the time he adopted him; but afterwards, the present Paishwa and his brother were born. The disappointment of Imrut Rao's hopes has prevented his being on good terms with his Highness; they are now, however, apparently reconciled, through the mediation of Colonel Close. Imrut Rao is on his way to Benares, to perform his ablutions there. He is the first of his family that ever did so, and he is, I learn, highly gratified by the circumstance.

October 19.—Yesterday a nephew of Colonel Close arrived from Hydrabad, three hundred and seventy miles, which he had rode in twelve days. He describes the Nizam's country as being as much devastated by famine as this. Several villages had not a living creature in them, and the dead bodies were lying at the doors, and in the houses. He has been himself nearly starved, having procured only native grain since he left Hydrabad, with now and then some milk. This must be owing to the want of rain, for Holcar and Scindiah caused no devastations in that country. Mr. Salt has taken a few views: a very beautiful one is from the gardens, taking in the junction of the rivers, and the pagodas built on the opposite side, a very favourite spot among the Hindoos. Mahadeo is the deity

chiefly worshipped. The pagoda beyond is dedicated to his wife, Parbuttee, who, with her son Gunnais, share in the adoration. This pagoda has a pretty effect, as it crowns the top of a sugar-loaf hill, and behind it is the flat mountain on which is situated the fort of Saoghur. Holcar never took this place, nor could his offers tempt the fidelity of the Killadar. It seems strong, but does not cover the whole surface of the hill, so that on one side it is accessible. On the whole, I think Poonah well situated, and when it has a little enjoyed the blessings of tranquillity, it will be a handsome capital.

His Highness having fixed on this day to return my visit, Colonel Close had a very large tent pitched in front of the house; two others were joined to it without their sides, so as to form one large apartment: the guddy was sent forward, and placed in the centre, as at his own Durbar. On his coming in sight, Colonel Close mounted an elephant, and advanced to meet him. At the door of the tent I waited his approach. He came close up, but did not dismount till the Dewan of the state, the Sub-dewan, and the Dewan for British affairs had paid their compliments, and had presented to me the different Sirdars and Maunkarries who attended him. They made their salaams, and passed by into the tent. His Highness then descended from his elephant, with his brother, who rode behind him. I made my compliments, and leaving a space on my right hand for him to walk in, moved into the tent. We all seated ourselves as at the Durbar. A few compliments passed, while the nautch girls were singing and dancing. As his Highness was considered as master of the house, the pawn and attar were placed on the ground before him, and he ordered it to be given to the Sirdars, and other attendants. I then requested his Highness to permit me

to attire him, and his brothers; which being acceded to, the trays were brought forward, and laid before them. I got up, and crossing the musnud, began with his brother. The jewels were first placed in his head dress, consisting of a serpaish,* jigger,* and toorrah.† I then put the mala‡ round his neck: a person stood behind who fastened the strings. The same ceremonies were then gone through with his Highness, but in addition, he had bracelets of diamonds. A telescope and bon-bon box, ornamented with a beautiful picture of the goddess Gunja, were also given to his Highness. His brother had a bon-bon box, with Indra painted on it. The figures were appropriate to their character. His Highness is much attached to the ladies. His brother is grave and ceremonious. I then gave them pawn and attar, as he did to me, except that the attar was poured into my hands, and I gently rubbed it down both his shoulders. This was done at his particular request, and is the highest possible compliment. His Highness was in such excellent humour, that although it was a public visit of ceremony, he frequently smiled and addressed himself to me and the Colonel.

The ministers did not receive attar, as it was my wish they should stay till the rest were gone. There is a great jealousy between these officers and the Maunkarries, so that to have made them any presents in the company of the latter, would have been an insult to their dignity. We mentioned to the Dewan that a

* Ornaments for the head of diamonds and coloured precious stones.

† Mahratta ornament of several strings of pearls fastened together and suspended on one side of the turban.

‡ A necklace of pearl with a jewel of coloured precious stones suspended from the centre.

horse and elephant were at the gate, as presents to his Highness. These are always given on state occasions, but without being habited, as up the country. It was nearly dark before the Paishwa departed. The ministers staid a short time afterwards; they received presents according to their rank; the jewels were tied by Colonel Close's Pervee. They then received pawn and attar from my hands, and departed. The nautch-girls had sung some very interesting Mahratta, or, as they called them, Deckany songs, which we now made them repeat, as a relaxation from the fatigue of a state visit. I afterwards learned that on this day there was a great religious festival, at which his Highness ought to have assisted, and that he was fined several hundred rupees for his absence. This provided a handsome feast for the Brahmins. Parbuttee pagoda was illuminated all over at night.

The presents were provided by the India Company. His Highness's were worth about twelve thousand rupees. The others altogether nearly eight.

October 20. — At a little after four we set off with the usual suwarry to pay a visit to the Paishwa at his country-house, the Hora Baug. The road for a considerable distance was covered by his Highness's suwarry, chiefly horsemen, so that it was rather difficult to get to the gate; fortunately I had a party of sepoys from the lines, who joined on the opposite bank of the river, and made way for me. It is prettily situated on the bank of a very large tank, perfectly irregular in its shape. In the centre of it is a small island with a pagoda. The opposite bank rises gradually into a sugar loaf hill, the summit of which is capped by the white buildings of the pagoda dedicated to Parbuttee. The house itself is insignificant,

and has never been finished. The garden is fine, and is ornamented with several noble mango trees, and a great number of cocoa-nut trees, which I had seen no where else above the Gauts, and which several people told me would not grow there. The guddy was placed in a verandah, opening to a bason of water, with fountains, and covered by a trellis of vines. We had the pleasure to announce to his Highness the surrender of Chandore to the united army of the British and the Paishwa, under Colonel Wallace, who was rapidly conquering the hill forts of Holcar, that extend towards Guzerat, in hopes of preventing his making an incursion into that fertile province, or into the territories of the Paishwa, to maintain his predatory bands. His Highness was in great spirits, and observed, that his father always wished for the friendship of the English, but that it remained for him first to reap the blessings of it. He had said in a former conversation, that he would mention another circumstance on a future occasion; it turned out to be a request, that I would procure him an Arab mare. The Colonel of course assured him that I would try my best; but unfortunately I knew it was impossible, as the Arabs never will part with their mares. The ceremony of my entrance was the same as the former, and I was seated in a similar situation.

We soon had notice to move up stairs: the Paishwa passing through a back door, while we mounted, by a narrow stair case, to a platform with two verandahs, one at each end. In the farther a white cloth was spread, on which were plantain leaves equal in number to the English gentlemen present. On each was a Brahmin's dinner, consisting of rice, plain and sweet, pastry thin as paper, and rolled up, pastrycakes, bread, and pease pudding. Along one

side was a range of sweets, laid in a row, having the appearance of paints on a pallet; on the other were seven different kinds of curried vegetables. On one side of the leaf were rice-milk, gee, and some other liquids, in small pans of plantain leaf, which were all excellent of their kinds. We had taken the precaution to bring spoons, knives, and forks, which we used actively out of respect to our host, who soon joined the party by seating himself on the guddy, a little on the outside of the verandah. Of course, he could not contaminate himself by eating in our presence.

On giving notice that we had finished, he retired, and we soon followed. After seating ourselves below, the betel was laid at his feet and served round. My servant had placed himself at the bottom of the line, by a hint from Captain Frissel, and was consequently served first. They proceeded upwards till they reached me, where they stopped. The presents were then brought in, again beginning with my servant. They consisted of a pair of shawls, a piece of kincaub, and a piece of cloth; the whole worth in the bazar about two hundred rupees. There was no visible difference between these and the others presented to Messrs. Young, Salt, Murray, and Smith. As for the gentlemen of the establishment, they were totally overlooked. My presents were then brought forward, which consisted of the same articles, and a piece of muslin. There were also jewels in a tray: these were put on by the Dewan of the empire: a hat answered every purpose of a turban, the serpaish, jigger, and toorrah looking very well. The mala, as it falls within the waistcoat, shows better on a native dress. All the presents were better than had ever been given on a former occasion, the shawls being new, and good ones for this part of India. A horse and

elephant were at the door; the former was a fine animal, and in good condition: a most unusual circumstance at Poonah. The attar was given to me and the Colonel by the Dewan. The box of pawn was delivered by his Highness himself.

After this was concluded, a sword was given into his hands, and by him presented to me: it was handsomely mounted in green and gold, and had a very fine blade: it was not part of the present of ceremony, and I therefore valued it the more. I assured him I would hand it down to my son, and my son's son; and kept it by me, instead of delivering it to my servants, as I had done the trays. The nautch-girls were the same as on the Paishwa's visit to me. His own woman, who is rather old, but is said to have a fine voice, was too busy in performing before the deities during this season of festivity, to attend upon us subordinate animals. We lost but little, as a noise is all that is required. A few compliments passed at taking leave, and he paid the usual one of requesting to hear of my welfare. The Dewan attended to the end of the carpet, and then took his leave. We returned through the town, which is much larger than I expected, and the bazar much finer. There are several large houses three stories high; the pagodas are insignificant; the number of wretched objects was small.

October 21.—A deputation arrived from the Dewan of the empire, requesting I would honour him with my company to a party at the Paishwa's garden. This was merely a matter of form, as I had previously consented, his Highness having expressed a wish that it should be so, as a proper close to the attentions I had received at Poonah. The party set off at the usual hour. We were received at the entrance by the Dewan, who walked by my side to

a carpet divided in two by a single pillow, and spread where his Highness's guddy had been yesterday placed. He sat on the right hand of it, I on the left; my party next me, in a line down the room; his, on the opposite side. We soon adjourned up stairs, where a dinner, as before, was laid out. The Dewan sat close to us, and conversed the whole time. I praised some of the sweet things, and requested he would send me some for my journey, which he took as a compliment, and immediately promised to do. On our return to the lower room, the pawn and attar were sent round, and, afterwards, presents to all my party, quite as good as those of the Paishwa. My presents were the same as before, except that there was no toorrah, and the whole were of less value. The Dewan tied them on himself. I begged him for the last time most anxiously to preserve, by his endeavours, the alliance between the two states, and to represent to his Highness that this was the last wish I had to express. He replied, that the Mahrattas now depended upon the English for protection. I requested Colonel Close to represent, in the strongest terms, my denial of this: that the dependence was mutual, and only that of one friend on another. Though he had made the remark, he seemed pleased at the denial, and assured me nothing should be wanting on his part, but that he was only what his master pleased; on which I concluded with my personal wishes for his continuance in office. We returned before dark.

Colonel Close had been so kind as to permit the Assistant Resident, Captain Frissel, to attend me to Bombay, and meant to go himself as far as Chinchoor. The following was the day fixed for our journey. I had procured several old figures of Hindoo deities, and some of considerable merit; my people had picked up a large collection of

agates, which are here in profusion: these were sent off this night. Many of my people were ill of fevers and colds, a very common complaint among the inhabitants of the Cokan when they ascend the Gauts. It is also the case with Europeans, a circumstance that I cannot avoid considering as extraordinary, though the same took place in the Tehama of Arabia. By the attention of Mr. Murray none of them died; one of the chubdars was however too ill to march, and the native officer of the escort was in a similar situation; they had therefore conveyances procured for them, and were directed to move as they found themselves able.

The empire of the Mahrattas, which had once been sufficiently powerful to contest the possession of India with the Mussulmauns, though weakened by the total overthrow they experienced at Paniput, was yet in a very flourishing state; and was prevented only by its internal dissensions from carrying its victorious arms through the greater part of the Peninsula. The treaty of Bassein, however, has, in fact, annihilated this empire, and has, in its stead, established the relatively independent states of the Berar Rajah, the Paishwa, Scindiah, Guikwar, and, if he should not be conquered in the present war, Holcar. An incalculable degree of security has been by these means acquired for the British provinces, which, after the conquests of Tippoo, had only to fear an union of the Hindoo Princes of India.

In the preparatory steps to the attainment of the important objects of an union between the Paishwa and the British, the greatest difficulty was the wavering and uncertain character of his Highness, who wanted sufficient firmness to adopt those decisive measures, of which he could not avoid perceiving the necessity, surrounded

as he was by open and concealed enemies, and only nominally in possession of his legal power. Lord Wellesley gave way to his timidity, indulged him in his caprices and delays, and, at length, most perfectly acquired his confidence. In my private conference with his Highness, which I have before mentioned, he expressed his great satisfaction at the arrangements that had taken place; he spoke in the warmest manner of the comfort and security he enjoyed since his alliance with the English, and seemed extremely anxious to impress on me that the friendship of that nation had been sought by his father previously to his time, and consequently was not a new measure. He spoke of the benefits as mutual: and declared his conviction, that, as it was both their interests, he had no doubt the two nations would continue united. He expressed great anxiety for the arrival of General Wellesley, when, he said, every thing would go on well, and the disturbers of the tranquillity of India would soon be annihilated. He then turned the conversation to myself; declared that he considered my arrival at so propitious a season as a very good omen, and rejoiced that my stay in his Capital, and the manner in which we associated together, would prove to the public the real friendship between the two countries. He particularly wished that I would, in England, make known that these were his feelings. In reply, I in general assured him of the regard which the English nation had for him and his family, and my conviction that the empires united were invincible. I told him that I would certainly make known his favourable sentiments towards my countrymen on my return; that, however, it would be unnecessary, as Lord Wellesley undoubtedly had already done so. I then declared the high character his Excellency bore among his

countrymen, and the confidence we had in his talents and integrity. If, however, any troublesome people should in England pretend, that Lord Wellesley's friendship had induced him to give too favourable an account of the Paishwa's sentiments, I should, with the greatest satisfaction, step forward to contradict them. I afterwards expressed my gratitude for the honours he conferred on me, which I considered as a proof of his friendship for my country.

Colonel Close was highly gratified with the result of the conference, and assured me he had no doubt of the Paishwa's being sincere in what he had said. He had never seen him so evidently pleased, or heard him more unequivocally declare his sentiments. His heart is excellent, which is proved by the intimacy that subsists between him and his brother Chimnajee; they live in the same house, and seem to have only one purse and one opinion; yet this brother might be viewed with some jealousy, as having been himself installed Paishwa during the troubles which followed the death of Mahdoo Rao Narain. His Highness is like the majority of his countrymen, superstitious to a high degree: he however relaxes from the strictness of his moral obligations in one respect, having had three wives and several mistresses. His brother's conduct is more strict, and is, in every respect, so steady, that when seated at the Durbar he moves neither hand nor foot, and seems a candidate for the office of Swamie.

His Highness at the festival of Gunnais has a large party of ladies to dance before the deity, on which occasion he is accused of dressing himself out to the greatest advantage. Although this is according to precedent, yet his brother thought it might appear not sufficiently dignified in his present situation, and he accordingly

sent a private friend to Colonel Close, who began by stating the Prince's high satisfaction at the British conduct, and the conviction of their extreme anxiety for his brother's prosperity. He then mentioned the dancing, and his fears concerning it, asking if Colonel Close could not give a hint to his Highness on the subject, which, coming from him, might have great weight. Colonel Close in reply observed, that he saw no possible means by which he could with delicacy interfere in a business, which related solely to their religious policy, but that if he would point out any means that occurred to him, the Colonel would try to use them. The Prince then sent to say, that if no means occurred to the superior understanding of Colonel Close, there were no hopes that he should discover any; and here the matter ended.

A perfect degree of cordiality subsists between the Mahratta durbar and the British Resident, yet frequently it is almost impossible to transact business from the interference of their superstitions. The waiting for a fortunate day may put off the most important concerns; and if a member of the minister's family dies, he is shut up for a month, and all business is at a stand. Formerly these difficulties were purposely brought forward, but even now we cannot quite get rid of them.

Our influence has hitherto been used to conciliate the minds of all. The brother of the widow of Nana Furnese had been put in prison during some former disturbances: we obtained his release, and are attempting to procure something for him. Imrut Row, his Highness's brother by adoption, has also been essentially served by us. A friendship will probably never exist between them, but in the arrangements at a peace with Holcar, he may have a pro-

vision, and be kept on terms with his brother, out of the way of doing mischief to him. Imrut Row's absence, on a pilgrimage to Benares, will give time for the Paishwa's resentment to wear out, and his religious prejudices will be gratified by the benefits to be derived therefrom by the whole family.

Imrut Row was certainly the chief cause of the Paishwa's misfortunes, in having invited Holcar down to Poonah, and corresponded with him the whole time. This was ungrateful and unjustifiable, his Highness having ever been an affectionate brother to him. It seems to have been their plan to place a son of his on the throne, in whose name the father would have governed. If they had seized the Paishwa, he would have been kept a prisoner. Imrut Row has thoroughly repented his misconduct, abandoned all his evil connections, and thrown himself on the protection of the English. His allowance is at present from them, and their interest is employed in his favour with his justly irritated brother. His son is with him, and is a very fine boy. Nana Furnese's family were implicated in the conspiracy, but we have induced his Highness to pardon them. He did it a little unwillingly, and has not restored their property.

When two Frenchmen landed on this coast, and made their way for Poonah, his Highness was on a religious journey to the source of the Kistna. On their overtaking him, he never admitted them to his presence, but sent them prisoners to Poonah. Colonel Close was not here, but, as soon as he heard of it, sent to desire they might be given up as our enemies. The Colonel was very much alarmed lest they should escape from the town, where they were slightly guarded, or be liberated by any of his Highness's enemies,

when it would have been difficult, nay almost impossible, to prove that he had not connived at it. The Paishwa immediately gave them up, but put in a plea, that as we wished to imprison our enemies, we should not wish to liberate his; and this seems to have been his only motive for not sending them immediately to the Resident. I understand, they were much surprised to find his Highness so attached to the English. Bonaparte had probably calculated on a very different reception. They were intelligent men, who certainly had before been in the country, and their escape might, in many ways, have been disadvantageous.

The Paishwa is extremely exact in the performance of all the duties of his religion. This is supposed to be increased by some anxiety about the present state of his father's soul. Suspicions respecting the death of Sewai Mahdoo Rao Narain, who died by a fall from the terrace of the palace, were entertained by many. Some thought Ragonaut Rao had been instrumental to his fall, but Colonel Close believes him to have been innocent. He conceives that the Paishwa threw himself down in a fit of spleen, in consequence of a severe lecture he received from Nana, who treated him as a child. This happened when the Dewan discovered, that he had been carrying on a correspondence with the present Paishwa and his brother, the object of which was to liberate themselves from the severe tutorage of the old gentleman. They were all young men, and what they did was very natural, but the event proved fatal. The death of Narain Rao bears still heavier on Ragonaut Rao; though he was killed in an insurrection of his guards, yet it was generally supposed they were instigated by his uncle, who would have instantly reaped the profit of the crime by becoming Paishwa, had not the Brahmins declared, that one of his

wives was with child, and that that child would be a son. It turned out to be so; and though on the boy's death, Ragonaut Rao had the power of state for some time in his hands, yet for the want of a few forms he was never actually Paishwa. His son Chimnagee is reckoned as the sixth, and the present as the seventh, as will appear from the pedigree of the family, which will be given in the Appendix. His Highness's filial piety in endeavouring to liberate his father's soul from the stain of these crimes, by his own works of supererogation, is worthy of praise, however we may pity the ignorance that gives rise to an expectation of success.

The satisfaction expressed by his Highness at the result of his alliance with the British, and which every part of his conduct has shown to be unfeigned, will be easily accounted for by an examination of his situation prior to its taking place, and a comparison of it with his present ameliorated condition. Although the Paishwa was recognised as the representative of the sovereign, by the great feudatories of the Mahratta states, Scindiah, Holcar, and Guikwar, and by the Rajah of Berar, yet the control which he could exercise over princes, who each independently possessed revenues and forces equal to his own, must at all times have been trifling; but latterly Scindiah had, in fact, reduced him to a state of subjection, and merely used his name as a cloak to his ambitious plan of uniting in himself the whole power of the Mahratta empire. In this attempt he met with resistance from Holcar, who was defeated by him, but whom he imprudently permitted to retire unmolested to Chandore, where having rapidly increased his forces, he attacked the troops of Scindiah and the Paishwa forty miles from Poonah, in turn defeated them completely, and got possession of the capital.

The Paishwa took this occasion to escape, though he was so hurried as to be obliged to leave his family behind him. Thus driven from his rights and territories by the successive attacks of these feudatory chiefs, it was natural that he should seek for assistance against them, where alone it could be procured. He accepted therefore the offer of offensive and defensive alliance made to him by the British government in India, and ultimately concluded with them the treaty of Bassein on the 31st of December 1802. The most active preparations were immediately commenced for the re-establishment of his Highness in his just rights. Major General Wellesley proceeded at the head of an army from the southward, and obliged the troops of Holcar to evacuate Poonah, having saved that place from being plundered by a rapid march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours. His Highness made his public entry into his capital on the 13th of May 1803, since which period he has, by the assistance of his allies, gradually got possession of his territories, the prosperity of which has been greatly increased by the uninterrupted state of tranquillity which has followed the successes of the British arms.

In another respect, his Highness has been essentially benefited by his connection with the British Government; I mean in the improvement of his finances, by the arrangements which have been adopted according to the plan recommended by Colonel Close. Formerly every Sirdar retained, with impunity, whatever part of the revenue he pleased, and in many of the provinces no part of it found its way to the treasury of the Paishwa. This was the case in Bundelcund, which was estimated at sixty lac of rupees per annum, and in the districts ceded by Tippoo, which were estimated at forty-one lac. The former has been given up to the British by a treaty, subsequent to that of Bassein, and now nets forty-four lac, of which

thirty-six are retained for the payment of the subsidiary force, and his Highness receives the other eight. The latter was originally ceded to the British, and, though given up on receiving Bundelcund, the system of collection had been so far improved, that his Highness now obtains from it about twenty-one lac. The provinces nearer to the seat of government were of course more productive; but even these were liable to all the peculations which naturally existed under a weak government, and were too frequently devastated by the hostile presence of the contending chieftains, or by the more amicable, but not much less dreadful, annual assemblage of undisciplined cavalry at the Dusserah. These evils are put an end to by the British victories; and it seems probable that the territories above the Gauts will be rendered secure from any future hostile incursions, by Colonel Wallace's conquest of the hill forts that belong to Holcar, and which command the passes between the two countries. The presence of a subsidiary force ready to enforce obedience, has also operated in causing the payments to be regularly made.

His Highness's gross revenue may be fairly estimated as follows:

		Rupees.
In Guzerat - - -	Ahmood -	2,00,000
	Jumbooseer -	5,00,000
	Duboy - -	1,25,000
	Cokan - -	9,00,000
	Sevendroog, &c.	2,00,000
Above the Gauts, N. and W. of Poonah - -	Juneer - -	10,00,000
	Sungumneré	10,00,000
	Ahmednuggur	4,00,000
Added by the treaty of Seringapatam, 1792 -	Savanore - -	8,72,838
	Bankapore -	7,51,278
	Darwar - -	4,15,608
	Buhdelcund -	8,00,000
	R.	71,64,724

Were the above revenue realised, it would be more than sufficient for the maintenance of the Paishwa, as Chief of the Mahratta empire; but this is far from being the case, though it is impossible to know exactly what portion of it reaches his treasury. The actual expense of collection is very great; the hill forts are numerous, and the garrisons large, which must be regularly paid; provisions are sent in kind for the use of his family; and, what is a still greater expense, he is obliged to connive at many abuses to conciliate the chief natives who are about his person. Yet there is no doubt that he receives double the sum he ever did before; and it is probable, that by following the suggestions of the able and upright officer who manages the British affairs at his court, he will shortly be in affluence, and have a full treasury, to which he may recur in cases of emergency. At present, should only a lac or two of rupees be wanting, he must borrow it, or procure it by harsher means. This is entirely owing to mismanagement, for were the above provinces under the British Government, they would yield twice the sum at which they are estimated, without any additional burthen to the inhabitants.

Nothing can have been more prudent and conciliatory, than the conduct of the British since the connection between the two powers. No object has been pressed hastily or warmly, and every opportunity has been seized to oblige his Highness. By the treaty of Bassein he had been induced, at the particular request of the Company, to accommodate them by a grant of a small slip of sea-coast in Guzerat, valued at ten lac per annum; yet on a representation being made that the district of Olpar had formerly been in the possession of a Sirdar, to whom he was particularly attached,

it was immediately exchanged with his Highness for a district of equal value in Bundelcund, although Olpar was particularly desirable or account of its vicinity to Surat. It would be an object of the greatest importance to the British Government to obtain a cession of the tract of land below the Gauts from Damaun to Carwar, as it would complete the security of the sea coast from the Gulf of Cambay to the Indus; but unfortunately the greater part of this was a grant of the Mogul to Bajee Rao, the first Paishwa, as a jaghire, and being therefore considered by them as a private property of the family, they are extremely unwilling to alienate it. This reason was candidly admitted, and the subject dropt. Any alarm which might have been excited in the Paishwa's mind, (a mind timid from a deficient education, having been brought up by Brahmins in complete seclusion, where he was taught nothing but their religious ceremonies, of which he is a perfect master,) by the idea that the British wished to grasp at every thing, and merely to employ him as an instrument of their ambition, has been done away by the free gift of the strong fort of Ahmednuggur and the district around it, which was conquered by Major General Wellesley, and to which he had no claim; and still more strongly since, by their having engaged in a war with Holcar, on terms so beneficial to him, and so triflingly advantageous to themselves, even if complete success should attend their arms.

The friendship which the Paishwa evidently feels for the British must, in a great degree, be attributed to the able conduct of Colonel Close, the Resident, but still more so to the confidence he places in the military and civil talents of General Wellesley, to whose active exertions he owes his re-establishment at Poonah, an

event that might never have taken place, had the service been entrusted to a less able officer. Rapidity of movement was in this, as in every other Indian war, of the first importance, and to render this practicable, a regular supply of provisions was absolutely necessary. Of this branch of the military art General Wellesley has shown himself a perfect master; and has added to it a decision in council, and a spirit in action, which have rarely appeared in India. The provinces which his arms have conquered, have been conciliated by the protection he has invariably afforded them from all military oppression; and a personal confidence has been excited by the suavity of his manners, and an invariable attention to their religious prejudices. Uniform success attended him in the Mahratta war; but since the disturbances excited by Holcar he has not commanded, and events have been less prosperous. It is natural therefore that the Paishwa should wish anxiously for his return, with a firm conviction that the tide of victory will again attend him. In this respect his Highness's expectations will, I think, be gratified.

Holcar, who is an active and able man, had very wisely employed the time, while his rival Scindiah was engaged in a destructive war, to occupy all the estates of his family, to replenish his coffers, and recruit his forces. Had he been satisfied with this, he might have tranquilly retained the possession, although an illegitimate son of the late Holcar, and consequently not the representative of the family; but, instead of this, he made the most unreasonable demands of property beyond Delhi, which, he said, had been held prior to the battle of Paniput; and, on being refused, commenced actual hostilities by levying contributions on the Jeypoor Rajah, an ally of the British. Colonel Monson entered his country, and took

Rampoora; but unfortunately despising his enemy too much, had his supplies of provisions cut off, and was obliged to make a retreat, in which he was pursued by Holcar, and lost a great number of men, and all his ammunition and cannon. It is probably in some respects fortunate that Holcar has been thus drawn to the northward, where he can make no impression against General Lake's army, as he might otherwise have plundered the plains of Guzerat, and done incalculable mischief to the Guikwar, an evil that is now prevented by the success of Colonel Wallace.

The original Mahratta system of warfare had been greatly changed by Scindiah: instead of vast bodies of cavalry, which by forced marches would attack an unsuspecting province, and retire with their booty before a sufficient force could be assembled to resist them, he attempted to establish an army of infantry, disciplined after the European system, and commanded by European officers. As these increased in numbers, he diminished the other, but fortunately was seduced by his vanity into a war with the British, before his plans had been matured. Warned by his fate, Holcar has, in a great degree, depended on his cavalry, of which he has eighteen thousand, independent of twelve thousand Pindanis, or undisciplined free booters, while his infantry does not amount to above ten thousand men. Such a force as this can make little resistance to the army opposed to him, when under General Wellesley, whose appearance will give confidence to all. As he will undoubtedly have the same powers from the Governor-General of negotiating, as well as fighting, no delay need intervene in restoring tranquillity to the country. This is one great advantage in employing an officer, in whom the Supreme Government can place

unlimited confidence. Much may be done at the moment of victory, which would be impracticable were an application necessary to the seat of Government; more particularly in a war with a Mahratta power, whose whole system of policy is delay. Had not General Wellesley been authorised to treat after the battle of Assaye, without referring to Calcutta, the enemy would have had time to recover their panic, recruit their forces, and prepare for another war.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Poonah. — Arrival at Chinchoor. — Visit to a supposed Incarnation of Gunputty. —History of the Founder of his Family.—Visit to the Rajah of Tillegam.—Account of the excavated Pagodas at Carli.— Visit to the Hill Fort of Low Ghur.—Visit to the Widow of Nana Furnese.—Return to Bombay.—Observations on Bombay. — Fortifications — Town—Dock-yards. —Marine. —Trade. — Insalubrity of Climate.—Country Residences in the vicinity.—Manner of living.—Establishment of the Bombay Literary Society. — Evils attendant on the cheapness of spirits. — Character of the Persees.—Embassies to Persia.—Visit to the Pagodas at Salsette and Elephanta.

CHAPTER IV.

OCTOBER 22.—At sunrise I departed from the hospitable mansion of Colonel Close, where I had spent ten most pleasant days, under a salute from the lines. Soon afterwards the village of Ound was pointed out to me, as a remarkable instance of the manner in which the possessions of the different Chieftains of the Mahratta empire were separated from each other. This little district, though surrounded on every side by the territories of the Paishwa, is the property of Scindiah, while, at the other extremity of the empire, Culpee belongs to his Highness. In the same manner Waufgorn, though only twenty-four miles north of Poonah, gave birth to the family of Holcar, to whom also belongs Kooch, on the banks of the Jumna. This intermixture of estates was formerly considered beneficial, as preventing a separation of interests; but now that the union of these independent Princes is at an end, it has been proposed to exchange such detached possessions, and consolidate the territories of each.

My palanquin bearers were very lazy, so that I did not reach the encampment at Chinchoor till nine o'clock. I found assembled there Colonel Chalmers and my other friends, who had kindly attended me thus far, that we might together visit the extraordinary personage, described by Captain Edward Moore, in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, and who is believed, by a large

proportion of the Mahratta nation, to be an incarnation of their favourite deity Gunputty. Immediately on my arrival I sent a messenger to Chinta-mun-Deo, who is the present reigning Deity, with the usual compliments, notifying my intention of paying him a visit in the evening, and requesting that he would, in the mean time, send to me some learned Brahmins, who could give me an account of his family. A most gracious answer was returned; and with the most learned of his Brahmins came one of his own relations.

Colonel Close undertook most kindly to make every inquiry that I wished, and by his assistance, and that of Captain Frissell, I collected the following history of the Deo's ancestors.

Mooraba Gosseyn was a native of Beder, and a Mahratta or country Brahmin. In his youth he would attend to no business, but used to run up and down the country collecting flowers, and offering them to the deities. His father, finding he could make nothing of him, turned him out of doors. In passing Moraishwer, near Baramutty, he was struck with the deity Gunputty, and determined to pay him regular devotion. He however went on to Chinchoor, which had then but two houses, and no name: pleased with the spot, he took up his residence there. In the morning he regularly performed the ablutions in the river, and then set off for Moraishwer, distant twenty-five coss, where he performed his devotions to Gunputty, and at night returned to Chinchoor. The Pingli family of Mahratta Brahmins were at that time in great power at Moraishwer, and performed the Pooja. On the first grand festival of Gunnais Chout, Mooraba, having prepared his necessary offerings and flowers, conceived great hopes of his being able to perform the ceremony, which he thought would be particularly

meritorious. The Pingli Brahmins being in possession of the civil power, performed the ceremonies with great splendour. Mooraba, being poor, could not approach for the crowd of richer suppliants. At this he was severely mortified, but at length retired to the foot of a Naipte tree, which still exists there, performed his Pooja, and left his offerings. In the evening he, as usual, returned to Chinchoor. In the course of the night the offerings were transposed, Mooraba's being placed before the Deity, while the Pingli's were found at the foot of the tree. The Poojanie Brahmins, astonished and alarmed, inquired to whom the accepted offerings belonged, and learned that a Cokan Brahmin had been there the day before, had performed his devotion at the foot of the tree, and had since disappeared.

On Mooraba's appearance the following day, the event was instantly communicated to the Pingli, who ordered him to be brought before them. On their interrogating him respecting the whole business, he simply related what had passed. They then demanded where he lived; he replied "below the Gauts, but the place has no name: you may come along, and see where it is, if you please." Believing this to be impossible from the distance, unless he were a sorcerer, they immediately ordered him to be driven across the river, and forbad his return under pain of punishment.

Mooraba was now completely heart-broken. He laid himself down at the foot of a Mimosa, and humbling himself before the Deity, deprecated his wrath; and declared his willingness to give up his life to him, which he conceived necessary, as he could not eat till he had performed his devotions, and he was now completely debarred from the possibility of doing so. On looking up he perceived a Brahmin standing before him, who was, in reality,

Gunputty. He inquired the cause of his grief, and after hearing his whole story, comforted him, offered him utensils and provisions, and added that he would himself conduct him to the Deity. To this arrangement Mooraba objected, stating, that if the sacrifice were made of things not procured by himself, he should have no merit. Mooraba therefore requested that the Brahmin would advance him the money necessary to purchase the offerings, and would, as a security, keep his lota, or small vessel in which he was accustomed to dress his provisions. To this the Brahmin replied, that without his lota he could not mix up the offering; that therefore he should first procure the articles, and, after the ceremony was over, and the lota washed, it might be given as a pledge. To this proposal Mooraba assented, and, attended by the Brahmin, went into the town, no where meeting with any obstruction. After the devotions were over, they returned to the foot of the tree, and eat together. Mooraba then went down to the river to wash his lota, that he might give it to the Brahmin, but on his return he could no where see him. Mooraba now feared the shopman might have been cheated, and therefore returned to him for the purpose of lodging his lota in pledge; but, finding that the Brahmin had paid for every thing, returned to Chinchoor with his lota.

That night Gunputty appeared in a dream to the Pingli Brahmins, and other magistrates, and told them he was extremely offended at their ill usage of the poor Brahmin, who had shown so much devotion to him by his daily pilgrimages, and so much zeal by his offerings, and that therefore he was determined to be served by him, and to quit them. Mooraba arrived, as usual, in the morning at the foot of the tree, but dared not to approach any

farther without his friendly Brahmin. As soon as his arrival was notified to the Pingli, they set out to visit him, attended by the magistrates and other Brahmins. Poor Mooraba, extremely alarmed after the ill usage he had already received, retreated as they advanced. They however at length induced him to stop, by assurances that they only came to pay their respects to him. They then told him the dream they had had, and requested he would stay at Moraishwer. This he positively refused. They then demanded where he lived. He said they might send a man with him who would see. This they did, but the man could only keep up with him for ten coss. He then lost him, and returned to the Pingli. Mooraba himself returned in the morning to his devotions. The Pingli again sent a person with him, who again returned, having got only ten coss, as before.

This continued for some time; at length Gunputty appeared in a dream to Mooraba, still preserving the form of the friendly Brahmin, and told him that he had too much trouble to go every day to Moraishwer to perform his devotions; that, the next morning he, Gunputty, would visit him at his own habitation, and take up his abode with him. The morning ablutions of Mooraba were performed up to his middle in the river: he, as usual, dipped his hands, joined together, and his head at the same time, under the water; when he raised them up again, he was equally surprised and delighted, to discover in his hands the image of Gunputty, as worshipped at Moraishwer. On recognising this, he took it home, smeared it with red paint, prepared a shrine for it, and ever afterwards performed his pooja to it, without thinking it necessary to visit Moraishwer. The fame of the Deity's taking up his residence

at Chinchoor brought thither a great number of Brahmins, and one of great respectability offered his daughter to Mooraba. They were married, and after a certain time the God appeared in a dream to Mooraba, and told him his wife was with child, that he would have one son only, and that that son would be himself, "woh humara avatar howega." He therefore directed him to call his name "Chintau-mun-Deo," which was one of the titles of Gunputty.

The event of course fulfilled the prophecy of the Deity, and Chintau-mun-Deo received the adorations of the surrounding country. He, in his turn, had a son, who was called Narain Deo, and from that time they have taken this name, and that of Chintau-mun-Deo alternately; the seventh in descent being the present Deo, and who goes by the latter name. Major Moore calls him Bawa, and his father Gabajee, but these are only familiar appellatives, like Baba, Appa, Nana, so common among the Mahrattas, and so puzzling to strangers. Each Deity at his death has been burnt, and invariably a small image of Gunputty has miraculously arisen from the ashes, which is placed in a tomb and worshipped.

I asked my informers whether Chintau-mun-Deo, who was himself an avatar, performed pooja to his other self as taken out of the water; they replied, certainly, for that the statue was greatest, nor was his power diminished by the avatar. I then wished to know how it was clear that the descendants of Chintau-mun-Deo were avatars. They replied that when Gunputty first took up his residence with Mooraba Gosseyn, he was asked by him how long he would stay with him, and was assured it should be for twenty-one generations. As Captain Moore had stated that it was only for

seven generations, I repeated my inquiries, but they were positive it was for twenty-one. I suggested the possibility of a failure of the male line, which they would by no means admit, declaring that Gunpútty had made the promise, and he would take care to fulfil it. I think however they have not acted with their usual prudence, for the present Deo has no son, and his wife is still a child; were any accident to happen to him before she is old enough to have children, I think the Brahmins, ingenious as they are, would have some difficulty in carrying on the imposture.

Captain Moore mentions the constant miracle of the Deo's expenses being so much greater than his income: this might easily be accounted for by the secret contributions of other Brahmins, who are essentially interested in the imposture, or by the supposition of a secret treasure having fallen into their hands, by no means a singular circumstance in a country, where perpetual danger induces every body to bury a large part of their property, without intrusting the secret to any one. Of this some conjecture may be drawn from an event, that has lately taken place at Bisnagur. A man has appeared there, who declares that he is sent by heaven to rebuild that ancient city; he has actually laid out the plan of the new town in a regular manner, with gardens to each house, and goes on building rapidly. Whenever he wants money, he goes to the top of a hill, where he declares he receives it from heaven, but probably he has discovered some secret treasure, from which he draws such ample resources.

The Deo resides on the opposite side of the river, in a very excellent house for the country, part of which was built by old Nana Furnese, and part by Hurry Punt. We went over in a boat, and

landed at the place where the former Deos were buried: they were burnt, and their ashes deposited in small stone pagodas. In each is the Gunputty that appeared on the occasion; they are of different sizes, without any merit. The temple of the first deity is the largest, and is of stone without ornaments; the walls very thick, with strong doors, and bolts on the inside. Our Brahmin friends accompanied us, and pointed out every object. We did not enter the little buildings, but approached close to the doors. When we reached the habitation of the Deo, we were seated in the verandah described by Captain Moore; the small door was open, which communicated with the room where the Deo was seated, on a small elevation; but as the room was dark, he was hardly discernible. I presented a nazur, as did the Colonel. The money was given into the hands of a Brahmin, who laid it at his feet. He looked at it attentively, and then motioned to have it taken away.

After a compliment, the people enquired if there were not a medical gentleman with us. On being informed that there was, the Brahmin said, the Deo wanted his assistance. A window had been opened, which gave us a full view of him; he was a heavy looking man, with very weak eyes; it was to relieve these that he now applied for assistance. Mr. Murray said he wished to examine them. The Deo accordingly moved forward on his seat, close to the light, and Mr. Murray was admitted into the sanctum sanctorum. His Godship was too anxious about his eyes to recollect his dignity; he explained his case himself, and answered pertinently to all questions. A film had grown completely over both eyes, so that little assistance could be afforded without constant attendance, and that, it was impossible to give. He would not permit Mr.

Murray to touch his eyes, as he said he had then performed his ablutions for the day. In the morning there would have been no such objection, as he could have been purified; but now he was only waiting for our departure to have a large party of Brahmins dine with him, and there was no time for purification. Almonds were brought to him, of which he took a handful, and emptied them into mine, which I held underneath to receive them. I entered the inner apartment, as did the other gentlemen in their turns. He took care that no one touched him. He also gave me a pan full of rice, which he said was of a very fine sort, and particularly holy.

We now took leave, and Mr. Murray told him he would send him something for his eyes. He said, if I had any enquiries to make, he would answer them. I merely asked if I should reach my home in safety. The reply of course was, that every thing prosperous would attend me. The Brahmins returned with us, but before their departure took occasion to observe, that they worshipped him, but he worshipped Gunputty. This brahmin's imposture has been of great use to the country during Holcar's invasion. It was never plundered, which was probably owing to the Chief's superstition; but the Brahmins attribute it to a miracle. They told us several stories: as that, when some Patans attempted to approach the town, they saw a guard of supernatural horse drawn up to protect it; and that another party, that came even to the tope in which we were encamped, close to the river, and directly opposite the holy burial place, were seized with such violent pains in their bowels, that they were obliged to retire in dismay. On our return we were pestered with several beggars.

October 23.—At day light we took leave of our hospitable friends,

and with ease reached Tillegam to breakfast. I was met, about a mile from the town, by the Rajah's cousin, who attended me to the tents, where he and the minister paid their compliments, and delivered an invitation from the Rajah to visit him: which I promised, as I found, by enquiries at Poonah, that he was a respectable man, a Mahratta, holding under that government, on the tenure of military service only. He was formerly powerful, but at present, like many others, is much reduced. As his territories lie between Poonah, where the British subsidiary force is generally stationed, and the Presidency of Bombay, it is advisable to be on good terms with him. One anecdote does him great credit: he fed nearly the whole of his village during the late famine.

Four o'clock was the time settled for our visit, as he wished us to take a repast with him, and had sent for our table, knives, forks, and spoons: the Minister came to attend us. The town was larger than I supposed, and seemed thriving; his own residence bore the marks of ancient splendor. He received us in a small verandah on the ground floor, covered with a piece of velvet carpeting. Several decently dressed people were around him. He was rather a young man, with a good-natured open countenance. To our enquiries after his health, he answered in English, that he was very well. His English interpreter then said, he was there to teach him that language. Mr. Frissel found that he also spoke Persian tolerably: a very remarkable proof in a Mahratta of a desire to acquire information. We adjourned to the repast up stairs, where we found some good meat curries, and a bottle of brandy, a liquor I did not expect in a Rajah's house, but to which he has the character of being considerably attached.

On returning down stairs, it was whispered to Mr. Frissel that there were more gentlemen present than he expected, and that therefore he had not prepared presents for all of them. It was settled that a distinction would be indecorous, and that he should offer them only to me. They consisted of a dress, a part of which he wished to put on, but Mr. Frissel told him it could not be permitted: he tied a small serpaish round my hat. The minister inundated me with plain water instead of rose water, which was not very pleasant. I had however the pleasure of afterwards seeing all the rest of the party undergo the same punishment. Pawn and attar were served round, and we took our leave. We had a party of Bazeegurs or Nats, who are described by Captain Richardson in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, to amuse us at our tents. The women tumbled very actively, and were remarkably robust figures. Their small tents were pitched, without the town, and were in size like those of our gipsies. Captain Richardson has, in the work above quoted, pointed out other circumstances of resemblance, that certainly justify, in a very great degree, his conjecture of their having a common origin. The similarity of language is almost a conclusive argument.

October 24.—In order to visit the Caves of Carli to more advantage, we had the tents pitched at the foot of the hill, which contains these interesting antiquities. It is nearly opposite to the fort of Low Ghur, distant about four miles, directly across the vale. The chain of hills here runs nearly east and west, but this protrudes from them at right angles. The chief cave fronts due west. There are also a few in a bluff point at the southern extremity, the entrances to which are visible from the bottom. The whole road was

covered with small agates, of which I collected a few. It was a long stage, and I did not reach the ground till eleven. The Killadar of Esapoor paid me a visit, and informed me that he had received orders to show me the fort of Low Ghur. In the evening, Hurry Punt Bow, deputy to Cundeh Row Rastieh, Ser Soobah of the Cokan, who was on his road to the country below the Gauts, came also to wait on me, and brought presents of fruit, &c. Cundeh Row, being supreme head of Low Ghur, Esapoor, and most other forts in the country, had sent Hurry Punt to represent him, and receive my visit. He was a fine old man, with a white beard, and smiling countenance. I gave him notice of my intention to be there on the 26th, to breakfast, and desired guides to be sent.

October 25.—Breakfast was sent up to the caves, and we went there before the sun became hot. The ascent was steep, but rendered easy by steps which had been cut in the rock. The whole brow of the hill was covered with jungle, which concealed the caves till we came to an open space of about one hundred feet, which had been levelled by the cutting away of the sloping hill, till a perpendicular surface of about fifty feet had been found in the solid rock. Here a line of caverns had been excavated, the principal of which struck me with the greatest astonishment from its size, and the peculiarity of its form. It consisted of a vestibule of an oblong square shape, divided from the temple itself, which was arched, and supported by pillars. The accompanying view will give a better idea than words can, of its internal appearance. The length of the whole is one hundred and twenty six feet, the breadth forty six feet. No figures of any deities are to be found within the pagoda, but the walls of the vestibule are covered with carvings

INTERIOR OF CARLI CAVE.

Published May 1 1809 by W. Miller Albemarle Street.

in alto-relievo of elephants, of human figures of both sexes, and of Boodh, who is represented in some places as sitting cross-legged, with his hands in the posture common among the Cingalese; in others he is erect, but in all he is attended by figures in the act of adoration; and in one place two figures standing on the lotus are fanning him with chouries, while two others are suspending a rich crown over his head. I think, therefore, that it is beyond dispute that the whole was dedicated to Boodh. The detail of the different ornaments and figures, with drawings of them, I sent to the Bombay Literary Society, in whose works they will appear; it is therefore unnecessary to repeat them here. The inscriptions are numerous in different parts, and are all in the same unknown character which is found at the Seven Pagodas, and is described in the fifth, volume of the Asiatic Researches. We copied all that we could discover, and chalked over the letters for the benefit of any traveller that might come after us. There may be others concealed under the coat of chunam which still covers a great part of the wall; where it is broken off, the marks of the chissel are perfectly visible.

The ribs on the roof, which are seen in the drawing, are of wood, and are very difficult to be accounted for. They cannot be supposed to be of an equal age with the excavation, yet who would have been at the expense of replacing them? The followers of Boodh no longer worship here; the country is in possession of their great enemies, the Brahmins, and the pagoda itself is considered as haunted by evil spirits, in defiance of the vicinity of the holy goddess Bowannie; so much so, that the native draftsman who drew the cave at Ellora for Sir Charles Mallet, could not be induced to

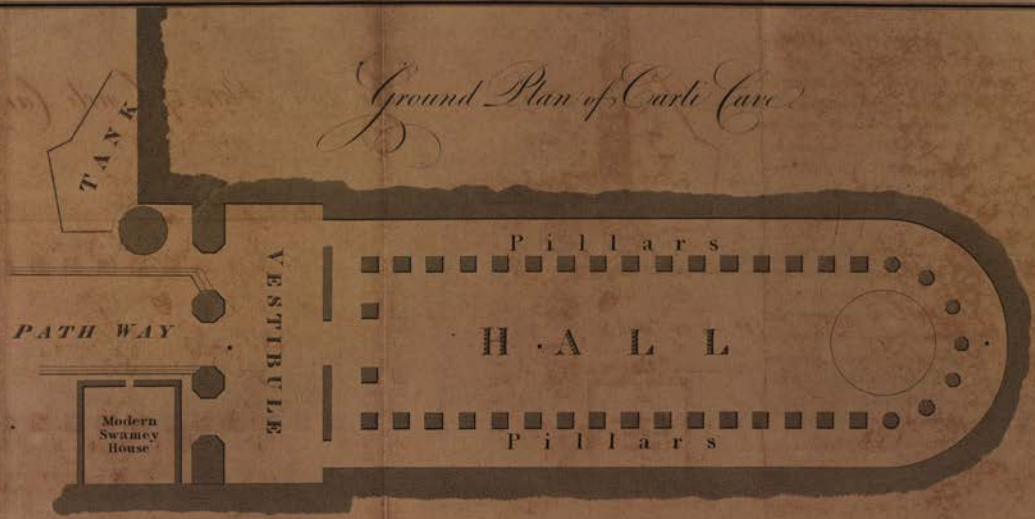
accompany us by any persuasion of Colonel Close, declaring that if he did, the evil spirit would injure him.

Without the vestibule stands a pillar twenty-four feet high and eight feet in diameter, on which is a single line in the unknown characters. On the capital are four lions, much resembling the Chinese. Opposite to it was another pillar, but it was removed about forty years ago, to make room for the insignificant temple of Bowannie, which now occupies its place. A view of the whole front, which was too large to be introduced in this work, is given by Mr. Salt in his Indian Views.

The Paishwa has settled a revenue on Bowannie's pagoda, and there is a regular establishment of Brahmins to attend her, while the splendid abode of Boodh is completely neglected.

A line of caves extends from about one hundred and fifty yards to the north of the great one. These are all flat-roofed, of a square form, and appear to have been destined for the attendants on the pagoda. In the last is a figure of Boodh, and in another is an inscription. They evidently were never finished.

A veil at present is suspended over the relative antiquity of the Boodhists and the Brahmins, which may possibly be hereafter removed; but these hopes are lessened by the recollection, that all the learning that has yet been found in India, has been in the possession of the Brahmins, who seem to have completely triumphed over their dangerous rivals, the Boodhists, who profanely gave precedence to the Royal Cast, above the holy race of the Priesthood. Mr. Salt began to draw the front; Captain Young, with my servant, to measure and lay down the dimensions; Messrs. Frissel and Murray to copy the inscriptions; and I to take notes. By noon I


Ground Plan of Carli Cave
TANK
Pillars
VESTIBULE
PATH WAY
HALL
Modern
Swamey
House
Pillars
Scale of Feet

discovered that, with all the friendly assistance I was receiving, it would be impossible either to finish the drawings of the figures, or to copy the inscriptions, in the course of the day, I therefore sent a messenger to Hurry Punt to put off my visit to the 27th. We worked all day, and went down to dinner. In the evening, Captain Young received a note from a Lieutenant Ambrose of the 7th native regiment, who was on his way from Panwell to Poonah. I requested he would invite him to join our party the next morning. The weather was evidently growing cooler, for at night it was quite cold.

October 26.—Lieutenant Ambrose joined us. I was sorry to find that he had lain last night under a mango tree, in the tope where we had encamped in going up, without any thing to cover him. He was a lively pleasing, young man, who had been in the navy during the Egyptian expedition. He afforded us great assistance in copying the inscriptions. Before night I was happy to find, that we were possessed of every inscription and necessary admeasurement. Mr. Salt's work was more extensive; he therefore determined not to accompany us to Low Ghur, but again to visit the caves on the morrow, and join us at the mango tope, whither we meant to remove our encampment. To the Brahmins who attended the small pagoda, dedicated to Bowannie, and to others who lived in the great cave, we gave some rupees, as they had been civil and useful.

October 27.—Very early all the party, except Messrs. Salt and Smith, set off for Low Ghur. The road across the valley was good, but when we began to ascend, the palanquins were of little use. We saw a line of caves facing due west on our left under the hill, on the summit of which is the fort of Esapoor. My servant visited

them by my orders, to examine if there were any thing worthy of inspection. He reported that there was a small arched temple, similar in plan to that at Carli, but that the pillars were plain, and there was not any inscription or figure of Boodh, and that smaller flat caves were on each side, but uninteresting; we did not therefore take the trouble of climbing to them. Hurry Punt had taken great pains to render our ascent easy. The bushes were cut away on both sides, and in many parts, the road had been levelled. The mount we ascended was part of Esapoor; we left the fort rather to the left, and as we came close to it, we were hailed from it. The walls were covered with men, and on the reply that it was the Lord Sahib, they sounded the trumpets, and gave a cheer.

At the top we were met by the acting Killadar of Esapoor, who conducted us to the village at the bottom of the rock, on which Low Ghur is built. Here we left the palanquins, which had only been of use the last half mile. We mounted by a very steep path that led in a zig-zag direction to the top. There are five gates with parapets and loop holes for musquetry: these were far from adding to the strength of the place, as in many parts they afford lodgements for a storming party. At every gateway was a guard. In the open space before the hall of audience, Hurry Punt was ready to receive me. He conducted me to the durbar, where a guddy was placed with one pillow. He sat down on the left of it; I seated myself in state upon it: my party on my right hand; his, beyond him on the left. After a few compliments, we adjourned to a breakfast prepared for us in a verandah, near at hand, and afterwards, in defiance of the heat, walked round the fort.

On the north side is a range of decayed cannon which were

always useless, as the height of the perpendicular rock is too great, on every side, to be stormed. Towards the west, a very extraordinary ledge extends several hundred yards in length, by about twenty wide. A wall is built along, on each side, to prevent accidents: at small distances are houses, inhabited by the guard, which we found drawn out to receive us. Though this ledge is lower than the main body of the fort, yet it is of sufficient height to prevent any attack, the rock being perfectly bare, and perpendicular. The whole in shape considerably resembles a tadpole, the fort representing the body, and this ledge the tail. From the summit the view was very extensive: the sea beyond Bombay appeared to the west; inland a chain of hills was visible in every direction, whose tops frequently rose into fortified summits, with rocky sides, as perpendicular as Low Ghur. The most extraordinary circumstance was the regularity of the strata, and the equal height of the rocky sides: were the line continued from one hill to another, it would touch the corresponding parts of similar strata. The summits were mostly green, and capable of cultivation. Low Ghur has numerous tanks, and several small streams from the springs above were falling down the rocks. Esapoor is higher, and only a musquet-shot from Low Ghur. Were the former, however, in the hands of an enemy, it could do but little harm, as this place is very extensive, and is protected from shot by rocks in almost every direction. Lieutenant Ambrose had been here before, when it was surrendered to the British arms. He told us that the quantity of ammunition and stores of all kinds was prodigious.

Dondoe Punt was the person who had been intrusted with the custody of the fort by Nana Furnese, and refused, after his death, to

give it up. Here Nana had deposited all his treasures, the plunder of the treasury at Poonah, and the savings of his administration. Here also resided his widow. Dondoe at first demanded the restoration of Nana's adherents to their offices under the state, which, of course, the Paishwa could never consent to, they having all been rebellious, both under Nana, and afterwards under Imrut Row. At length he gave up this point, and only required permission for himself and the widow to retire with their private property. He always denied that there was any of Nana's there, but the Paishwa thought otherwise, and conceived that when he had concluded the treaty with the English, they would take it for him by force. General Wellesley negociated for him, and on Dondoe's promising to behave as a faithful subject of the Paishwa, he was permitted to hold the fort. When, however, his Highness went, as he annually does, to bathe in the Kistna, the garrison of another fort, held by the same man, fired on him, and would not permit him to pass to a pagoda. This the General took up, and threatened to storm Low Ghur. At length terms were agreed upon: Dondoe gave up the place, retired with his personal property to Tanna, and the widow to Panwell. Their personal safety was guaranteed by the British, and 12,000 rupees per ann. were secured to the widow. She has also one of Nana's houses to retire to at Poonah, whenever she pleases.

The garrison seems numerous, but as the followers of Hurry Punt and the Killadar of Esapoor were there, I cannot guess the amount: to have asked, would have been useless. The buildings are miserable. The old gentleman, when I took my leave, presented a handsome pair of shawls, a piece of kincaub, and a piece of cloth. We examined the gateways as we came down, and I am quite convinced,

that the whole of the artificial works much lessen the natural strength of the place. Each high side of the way forms a sheltering place, secure against all attacks from the top, whether of musquetry, or their more usual weapons, large stones rolled down from above. The gateways and parapets have the same effect. Had the whole been scalped off, and only a strong work at the top, I believe no earthly power could have taken it. It is considered as the strongest fort in the Paishwa's possession, and an order from him was necessary to see it. The magazines are cut in the rock, but are now nearly empty; however, as the state grows richer, they will probably be replenished.

October 28.—We set off for the top of the Gaut. Candalla had presented too melancholy a spectacle for us to wish to stay there again; we therefore went on to the point, about a mile beyond. The scene was magnificent. The small plain which served for our encampment was on the extremity of a tongue of the table land. On one side the sea was visible; on the other Low Ghur, and the other hills: close to us, between these objects, was a woody glen, with impassable rocky sides, the depth of the whole gaut, at one extremity of which a cascade fell two or three hundred feet. In the rainy season it must be tremendous. Mr. Salt took a view of it as it was, but the scale reduced the stream to insignificance. Captain Young is Commissary for the supplying of the British subsidiary force with rice; and by contracting on moderate terms, and to be paid only for what he actually delivered, put an end to one of the most enormous abuses that existed. We here met several of his bullocks loaded with rice, which he stopped, and humanely gave two seer to each person who came to us from the village. It is an

almost incredible circumstance, but which strongly marks the patient forbearance, the resignation of the Hindoo, that during the whole of the late dreadful famine, grain has passed up to Poonah through villages, where the inhabitants were perishing themselves, and, what is still more dreadful, seeing their nearest relatives perishing for want, without a single tumult having taken place, or a single convoy having been intercepted!

October 29.—As we walked down the Gauts, the change in the climate was very evident. The heat was most oppressive, with not a breath of air. We encamped at Colapore, which we had left on the right as we went up, where we found in the Choultry an old woman dead, a lad nearly so, and a young woman much reduced. We first gave some congee to the boy, which his stomach bore, and afterwards some rice, so that I hope the poor wretch will survive. The old woman was buried, and the young one went off gaily with a sufficient sum to keep her till provisions shall be again in plenty. We had fowls and eggs from the Patale of the village. Our people were all better, though some were still obliged to be carried.

October 30.—We encamped eight miles from Panwell. Colonel Close's kindness still followed us; a basket of fruit, vegetables, and butter, reaching us this morning. The night was cold.

October 31.—Before day-light I was in my palanquin. By eight I reached Panwell. I received the compliment of sweet cakes from Nana's widow, and learned that her brother Purseram Punt had arrived four days before from Poonah to assist in receiving me. He had been confined by the Paishwa, together with the other connections of the Nana, till the British interest obtained his release, when he became a constant visitor to the Residency. He is a modest, well-

behaved young man, and in great favour with the Colonel. When presented to me, I expressed a wish to see his sister on my return, and asked whether it was against the Mahratta custom, that no purdah should be between us? He allowed that, by their own principles, there would be no impropriety in my seeing her, but that they had adopted from the Mussulmauns, since they had been so powerful in India, the custom of keeping their women concealed. He, however, promised to do his best for me, if I would visit her on my return to Panwell; to which I consented. He did not appear in the morning, nor Dondoe Punt, the late Governor of Low Ghur, who had come down on a visit to the widow, probably also to assist in receiving the visit. As I suspected that their absence was meant as a mark of dignity, in stealing the compliment of the first visit, Mr. Frissel sent to them to say, that he expected they would come here. The answer was, they were coming immediately, which they did.

Dondoe is a laughing old man, and talks a great deal. He soon began with Mr. Frissel about his own merits in giving up the fort to us, and his claims to compensation. To this but little was replied. We asked him respecting some steps down into the rock at the narrow end of the fort. He said it was intended by one of the Sattera Rajahs, who visited the fort, to have made another outlet at that end, but it had never been completed. He allowed he had only three months provisions when he capitulated. The garrison, in his time, varied from one to three thousand men, according to circumstances. He had lived there thirty years without ever descending, and complained that the climate below did not agree with him, but supposed he should soon get accustomed to it. He said that

several hundred horses, which he had brought down with him, had all perished. Captain Young said in English, it was a great blessing to Panwell, where most of them were kept, for his followers had plundered the whole country to maintain them. We did not, after this observation, express much pity for his loss. Four o'clock was the hour fixed for visiting the lady. He said he heard I meant to visit Salsette, and he should be happy to entertain me. If I did not go to Tannah, where he lived, he would meet me at the caves; to which proposal I assented.

At four the whole party set off with my suwarry. The little widow's house is not large, and most of the people in it are Brahmins. We were introduced into a small court, and seated on carpets covered with a white cloth, in a verandah, at the end of which was a door with a purdah of rushes, through which it would have been easy to distinguish any object, had not the room beyond been darkened. As I took no notice of the widow not being visible, the attendants began the subject by repeating the observations her brother had made at Poonah about the Mussulmaun women. It was evident they meant me to see her, from their having fixed up a linen curtain to conceal her from the people in the court of the house, I therefore wished to hasten them on, and replied, that it was very well, they might do as they pleased, and that I was satisfied. They knew I was not, and wished me to go nearer the purdah, which I refused. The brother then began to observe that, as I was going to England, he hoped, now that I knew his sister, I would be a friend to her there. I told him that I knew nothing of his sister; I only knew a purdah that was hung before her, and to that only I could be a friend. He laughed, and went again to speak

to his sister. I and Mr. Frissel approached close to the purdah, and he spoke directly to her, and she replied.

After innumerable difficulties we were gratified with a sight of her: she was really a very pretty girl, fair, round faced, with beautiful eyes, and apparently about seventeen years of age. By the customs of India she can never marry. She is considered as the representative of the family of Nana, and as such is much looked up to by all his numerous dependants. She wishes to adopt a son, who would in that case succeed to the claims of the old man. These were too many, and too important, for the Paishwa to wish to see them revived; she will consequently never obtain her wish. She made several requests to us: first, that she might obtain some of her personal jewels, which the Paishwa had in his possession; and secondly, a garden-house near Poonah, which belonged to Nana. These requests Mr. Frissel assured her Colonel Close would employ his interest to procure for her. She will probably succeed. After some more conversation I received a dress, and Purseram Punt tied a serpaish on my hat. It was with difficulty I saved my coat from having the attar rubbed down the sleeves, but I begged to wave the honour, and, with Mr. Frissel's assistance, succeeded. No presents were made to the rest of the party. We returned home to dinner.

November 1.—The tide served at ten, when we embarked in the balloon, and reached Bombay about four. I was received, as usual, with a salute of thirteen guns. One of our poor fellows died as he was passing in the boat from Panwell; the rest were all recovered. Four of our escort had deserted, which made up the list of casualties. Bombay, as a place of consequence, owes its origin entirely to the Portuguese; for in 1530, when it was ceded to them,

it was merely a dependence on the chief residing at Tannah, in the island of Salsette. Its favourable position at the entrance of the finest harbour on the western shore of India, soon excited the attention of its new masters, and a fort was erected by them to defend the anchorage. Nevertheless, the vicinity to Goa, the capital of all the eastern possessions of the Portuguese, prevented it from becoming a place of any great importance during the time it continued in their hands; but, on being ceded to the English in 1662, as part of the portion of Queen Catharine of Portugal, it rapidly rose into consequence, and ultimately became the great naval arsenal of that nation, and an independent Presidency, though certainly only the third in rank.

The fortifications of Bombay have been improved as it has increased in trade and importance; and lately a very considerable addition was made to their strength by including Dungaree Hill within the fort. This place previously commanded the town; it is however doubtful whether it would not have been more advisable to level the hill, as the lines of defence were before too extensive, requiring a garrison of several thousand men to defend them, while there were rarely as many hundreds in the place. Towards the sea Bombay is extremely strong, and battery above battery completely commands the harbour: to the land side it by no means offers the same resistance; but this is of little consequence, as, at present, were an enemy once landed, and capable of making regular approaches, the town must surrender. The houses, which are lofty and combustible, approach so close to the walls, that were they once in flames, it would be impossible for any troops to stand on the ramparts. A bombardment would lay the whole town in ashes in

a few hours, and even the magazines themselves would probably share the same fate.

If Bombay, and the valuable arsenals and naval stores which it contains, are to be rendered secure against an enemy, a large proportion of the town ought to be destroyed, and the fortifications ought to be brought nearer to the dock-yard, and within a much narrower compass. Accident has rendered this a much easier and cheaper work than it formerly would have been; for a most dreadful fire has reduced one third of the town to ashes, in the very division which would, were the above plan adopted, be thrown without the walls. It was with the utmost difficulty that the rest of the town was saved from destruction by the exertions of the Governor and the military. The old Government-house, which is within the old fort, was frequently on fire by the flakes that were carried towards it: had they been unable to extinguish it, the magazine must have shared the same fate, from its being close to it, and the unfortunate town would have been carried to all the points of the compass by the explosion of several thousand barrels of gunpowder.

To complete the plan of reducing the size of the fort, many houses must still be purchased, and pulled down; and the destroying of the old fortifications, and the erection of new, would carry the expense to a great height. It is hardly reasonable to expect, that this should be defrayed by the East India Company, who can only be considered as tenants under a short lease; but that it should be done by some arrangement with the Supreme Government at home, cannot for a moment be doubted, when it is considered, that our most implacable enemy has all his attention turned towards

our Indian possessions, and that in no place are we so vulnerable as at Bombay, from the smallness of the surrounding territory, and the distance from which all supplies must be drawn. If any hostile spirit does remain in the breasts of the Mahratta chieftains, and of which I fear there can be no doubt, Bombay affords to the French the only means of communication; and a brilliant success in an attack on that place would give spirits to every secret enemy, and induce them at once to throw off the mask. Of the ultimate result I should still have no fear; but the mischief of such a war would be incalculable, and the expense would be greater far than the alteration of the fort of Bombay, which the Governor seems to have some hopes will take place, for he has, for the present, refused permission to the inhabitants to rebuild their houses, which were consumed by the fire.

Many other alterations seem necessary to render Bombay as secure from a surprise as it is from an open attack. The public landing place is, at present, in the dock-yard, and a free access is allowed to this important spot during the whole of the day. At night centinels prohibit the approach; but the guard in the harbour is hardly sufficient to prevent boats from reaching it, without exciting suspicion; and so large is the bay, that an enemy might enter it at night, without being discovered by the solitary guard-ship, which is frequently its only protection. The expense that would attend the necessary precautions against this danger would be trifling, and cannot therefore be an impediment; but there seems to be a want of active zeal in those to whom the superintendence of the dock-yard is committed, that leaves it thus open to inspection, and, possibly, to eventual injury.

It is in the light of a marine arsenal that Bombay appears of the greatest importance, and its value has been hitherto little diminished by the conquest of Trincomalée, which, at present, affords only a scanty and precarious supply of fresh provisions for a fleet. Here are established docks for the repair of the King's ships, as well as of the vessels belonging to the East India Company's marine, an establishment that seems, at present, of little use, and of which the expense is incalculable. Most of the situations in it seem to have sunk into sinecure employments, and its very existence must have been doubted by its former enemies, the Pirates. If the East India Company are really in embarrassed circumstances, it appears to me that in no part of their establishment can they more easily œconomise than in the marine of Bombay; even if they do not think it advisable to abolish it at once. Were a new system adopted, and a reform carried into the higher and the lower orders, I believe the marine might become a respectable and useful establishment. As far as the exertions of an individual can go to the completion of this, I have no doubt that success will attend on Captain Money, the present Superintendent of the marine; but it will require the power and the perseverance of a Hercules to cleanse this Augean stable.

Some of the present arrangements of the marine seem to have been ingeniously formed for the sole purpose of acting contrary to the system of the King's navy. Instead of an officer who is appointed to a vessel, continuing for a length of time in her, till he is acquainted with the characters of those under him, it is a very unusual circumstance for an officer to command the same vessel for two successive voyages; and if, by accident, he should do so, it is

probable that he may lose every officer under him. I have known a Lieutenant to be appointed to three different vessels in four days; and the Panther cruizer had three different commanders in one week. This system of perpetual change, annihilates that pride which a Captain in the King's navy feels in the neatness and good condition of his ship, and leaves to the Bombay marine commander no motive for exerting himself to bring his vessel to the highest possible state of improvement. It has indeed no one advantage, and can only enable the Superintendent to provide whenever he pleases for a new favourite, and to keep in implicit obedience to his caprice the officers, who must be conscious that if they offend him, they can instantly be removed to the most disagreeable situations.

If the East India Company determine to make their marine a respectable body, this evil must be rectified as well as many others; they must increase the number of their officers, which, at present, bears so little proportion to the size and number of their vessels, that the Mornington of twenty-four guns, and the Ternate of sixteen, when they sailed from the Persian Gulf, had each only one Midshipman. They must inforce the proper regulations in their vessels, and make the officers amenable to a strict judicature; and, above all things, they must avoid exercising that most mischievous of all privileges, the reinstating such officers as have been dismissed by a court of inquiry. They must also arrange with his Majesty's Government the real situation of their marine officers, who, at present, claim, under their directions, a relative rank with the officers of the King's navy which is not recognised by them, owing to which disputes often occur, and more serious

consequences have frequently been expected to follow. The respectable officers of the marine would rejoice in every reformation, and would be fully repaid by the benefit which would accrue to the service for any losses that they themselves might sustain. That there are some men of high honour and unimpeached bravery in the marine, I can vouch from my own knowledge, and I cannot have the least doubt that there exist many others, whom it was not my good fortune to meet during my short stay at Bombay.

The establishment of the dock-yard is almost entirely composed of Persees, a people of whom I shall have much to say hereafter. It has been attempted to appoint an European master-builder, but the new comer has seldom long survived his arrival, and the only builders are now Persees. They are certainly fully equal to the business; but the absolute monopoly they possess has given rise to many abuses. The person who contracts to supply the timber, and the person who examines it on its receipt, are both Persees; consequently the articles are frequently of inferior quality. The master-builder has only people of his own persuasion under him; no complaint therefore is ever made of neglect of work on the one part, or of overcharges on the other. A still greater evil arises from the local circumstances of the dock-yard, which is a perfect thoroughfare, nay more, a fashionable lounging place for all the idlers of the town. The consequence is, that instead of working the whole day, many of the artificers only make their appearance to answer to their name at the hour of calling the roll, and if they please, depart immediately afterwards, without any possibility of their being convicted of the neglect of work; for the dock-yard is open to the town, and they may pass and repass as often as they

choose. The frauds which must arise from the same cause are incalculable, and call aloud for reform; than which nothing could be more easy, by the shutting up of the yard from all but the workmen and officers, and the introduction of the regulations of his Majesty's docks at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham. The Bombay Government have, to a certain degree, felt themselves obliged to submit to these abuses, from the dread of the Persees, as a body, giving up the ship-building business, of which they are the only possessors. I cannot myself believe that such would be the result from an attempt to reform abuses, though it might take place, if they conceived their monopoly was in danger, as they are a rich and independent people. With caution, every necessary arrangement might be formed, and the workmen be retained in a situation, for which, by their talents and experience, they are now so well adapted.

The Presidency of Bombay has sunk into political insignificance, since the supreme authority of Calcutta has undertaken all the arrangements with the Mahratta empire and its other neighbours; but in the late war, and indeed at this moment, it has a load thrown on it which it finds very difficult to bear; the supplying of the armies on this side India with provisions and money: in consequence of which, the outgoings per month are above fifteen lac of rupees, independent of the civil establishment; although its whole revenue, including the ceded districts in Guzerat, does not amount to above forty lac. The deficiency is provided for by bills on Bengal, and it shows a very favourable state of trade at Bombay, that so large a sum is procurable at no very high premium.

The trade of Bombay is at present, however, very inferior to what it was in former times, which is chiefly owing to the indulgences

given to the Arabs, particularly to the Imaum of Muscat, whose flag being recognised as neutral, his vessels sail to and from the Isle of France, carrying there provisions, and taking back prize goods, which they purchase at half their prime cost. The navigation-act with respect to them seems to be totally suspended in India: they enter their vessels at Bombay as English, and navigate from one part of the Peninsula to the other without having an European in the ship, or one rupee of the property in them belonging to a British subject. They have frequently a French protection also: so that they enjoy every privilege, and are French or English, as it suits their convenience. No wonder that their navy is rapidly increasing, while the English builders can hardly find sufficient employment to keep their gangs together.

Bombay has been said to receive its name from the Portuguese words bon bain, or good bay; but this, I believe, is a mistake, as it was the original name of the island before the Portuguese possessed it, and was probably called after a goddess Bomba, who is, as I am informed by Mr. Duncan, at present worshipped there. The town within the walls was commenced by the Portuguese, and even those that have been since built, are of a similar construction, with wooden pillars supporting wooden verandahs. The consequence is, that Bombay bears no external resemblance to either of the other Presidencies. The Government-house is a handsome building, with several good apartments, but it has the great inconvenience of the largest apartment on both floors being a passage room to the others. Mr. Duncan, from system, avoids all parade; and even admitting that the general principle were right, which, I have before observed, I believe not to be the case, it is here certainly carried to too great

an extreme, for a more ragged, dirty set of beings than the Government peons, I never beheld.

The view from the fort is extremely beautiful towards the bay, whose smooth expanse is here and there broken by the islands that are, many of them, covered with wood, while the lofty and whimsically shaped hills of the table land form a striking back ground to the landscape. The sea is on three sides of it, and on the fourth an esplanade, at the extremity of which is the black town, embosomed in a grove of cocoa-nut trees. The situation ought to be healthy, but unfortunately experience proves that it is not so. The fever is at present making most alarming ravages, and the liver complaint is more frequent and more fatal here, than in any part of India. Mr. Duncan and Dr. Scott assure me, that this season is more than usually unhealthy; but they both admit the general insalubrity of the place, and particularly, that exposure to the land breeze, which sets in every evening, is generally followed by a fever, and frequently by a loss of the use of all the limbs. This breeze is chillingly cold at present, and its delcterious effects may probably be attributed not only to this, but to the noxious vapours that it brings with it from passing over the rank vegetation which springs up in the marshy boundaries of the bay immediately after the rains are over. The Island of Salsette is still more unhealthy than Bombay, the jungle being closer, and the valleys more closed in. The young cadets that came out this year were sent to the new establishment at Varsova, when the fever immediately attacked them. They were instantly removed to Bombay, but many fell victims to the violence of the disease. Moderate living, cautiously avoiding opposite extremes, is found most conducive to health. Here, as in

other parts of India, gentlemen are to be met with, who have enjoyed their health in defiance of intemperance, or with great abstemiousness, and both recommend their own example; yet, in my mind, both are exceptions to a general rule: hundreds certainly perish from intemperance; and the abstemious life of the native by no means shelters him from fevers, and their result with him is more frequently fatal, from the impossibility of lowering his temperament when attacked.

The rage for country houses prevails at Bombay as generally as at Madras, and the same inconveniences attend it; for as all business is carried on in the fort, every person is obliged to come in the morning, and return at night. The Governor is almost singular in living constantly in town, having lent his country house at Perelle to Sir James Mackintosh. This place was the property of the Jesuits, and is the handsomest in the island. The apartments and verandahs are extremely handsome, and the former chapel on the ground floor is now a magnificent and lofty dining-room. It has, however, the inconvenience of not being open to the sea breeze, and appears to be far from healthy, for Sir James and Lady Mackintosh, with a great proportion of their family, have been attacked by an intermittent fever. The generality of the country houses are comfortable and elegant; and if they have not the splendid Grecian porticos of Calcutta and Madras, they are probably better adapted to the climate, and have most unquestionably the advantage of beautiful views; for even the Island of Bombay itself is broken by several beautiful hills, either covered with cocoa-nut tree groves, or villas of the inhabitants.

It cannot be expected that the third Presidency in point of rank,

should vie with the others in splendor or expense. The society is less numerous, and the salaries are smaller; economy is consequently more attended to by a kind of tacit compact; the style of living is however frequently elegant, and always comfortable and abundant. I confess, that having so lately quitted my native country, I preferred it to the splendid profusion of Calcutta. The necessaries of life are here dearer than in the other parts of India; the wages of servants are consequently much higher. Rice, the chief food of the lower orders, is imported from Bengal even in favourable years; at present the famine has raised it to an alarming price. Grateful, however, must the inhabitants be to Providence, for having, at such an eventful period, placed them under the British protection, and relieved them from those sufferings which afflict the nations around them. The subscriptions, which were entered into to extend this benefit beyond the limits of their territory, do honour to the gentlemen of the settlement. Hospitals were opened for the gradual administering of relief to such as were too much exhausted to feed themselves, and hircarrahs were placed on the confines to bring in those whose strength had failed them before they could reach the fostering aid that was held out to them by the hands of British benevolence. The preservation of several hundreds of thousands on the Malabar coast may be attributed to the overflowing supplies which Bengal was able to pour out for their support, in consequence of the fifty years tranquillity which she has enjoyed under her present masters. India, under one supreme controul, can never expect to feel the effects of famine; for a season which causes a scarcity in one part, generally produces an increase of produce in another; and the devastations of hostile armies will be at an end, which can

alone counteract this beneficent arrangement of Providence. For the sake of the population of sixty millions, as well as for our own sake, we may therefore wish that the British influence in India may remain unshaken by external force, or internal dissatisfaction.

A Society has been established at Bombay on a plan somewhat similar to the Bengal Asiatic Society, but it intends to limit itself to the present state of manners among the inhabitants, rather than to launch into ancient mythology, or the history of the country. Much I think may be expected from the active superintendence of Sir James Mackintosh, whose talents would throw a lustre on any society, and whose discourse on the first day of their meeting would have been heard with satisfaction by the father of Asiatic literature, by Sir William Jones himself. Sir James is ably supported by Mr. Duncan, who is, I believe, as learned as any European in the wild fancies of the Hindoo mythology, and was the writer of those papers, on the singular Hindoo customs at Benares, and the two fakeers that resided there, which were communicated by Sir John Shore to the Asiatic Society, but without stating from whom he had received the intelligence. To these are added the names of many other gentlemen, whose long residence in India, and known acquirements, may fairly justify an expectation in the public, that without rivalling their prototype at Calcutta, they may communicate much interesting information respecting that part of India which has come under their immediate observation.

One of the greatest evils in India is the cheapness of spirituous liquors, which leads to a dreadful mortality among the European soldiers, particularly on their first arrival. The quantity allowed by Government is too great, if not totally useless. In the field, it is

a gallon for every twenty men, or two drams each: at other times only half the quantity. This might probably do no harm, were it not that the soldier is able, at his own expense, to procure as much as he pleases, in addition, from the camp followers, who are licensed by Government, and pay a duty on all they sell. This plan has been adopted in preference to allowing the profits to be received by the commanding officers, which had led to the greatest abuses. To deprive the soldier of an injurious quantity of spirits is impossible in a country, where an execrable kind is sold at a low rate in every village; it has been therefore considered as more advantageous, to secure him a supply of a less deleterious kind. Could the quantity allowed by the Government be reduced one half, a diminution would no doubt take place in the deaths; and every exertion ought unquestionably to be made, to preserve the lives of persons, so valuable to their country, as the soldiers employed in India.

The greater proportion of the inhabitants of Bombay are Persees, descendants of the ancient Persians, who fled from the persecution of Shah Abbas, who in the sixteenth century destroyed the temples which had till then remained in the mountain Albend, and drove the worshippers of fire to seek an asylum in other countries. Bombay they have almost entirely made their own, for hardly a house or a foot of land in the island belongs to any other. They form a body of people totally dissimilar to any other in India, and seem to have perfectly domesticated themselves in their new abode, where they receive a protection, for which they are very grateful. I asked a very respectable Persee why they built such splendid habitations, and purchased land at a price that yielded only four

per cent, when they could so easily make eight or twelve. His answer, I believe, conveyed the real sentiments of his nation. "This is our native country, where we are also to die: we have now no other home to look to, and therefore like to have some certain property for our children to inherit: you English are only here for a short time, and therefore wish to make as much of your money as possible, that you may return to your country, where I suppose you act, as we do here." They are a very rich, active, and loyal body of men, greatly increasing the prosperity of the settlement by their residence in it. There is not an European house of trade in which one of them has not a share, and generally indeed it is the Persee that produces the largest part of the capital. Their influence is consequently very great, and the kind of brotherly connection that subsists among them, enables them to act with the force of an united family. The conduct of the Government towards them has been indulgent and wise. They openly avow their obligations, and express their conviction, that in no other part of the East could they obtain the same advantages. I consider them as a most valuable body of subjects, and am convinced that, unless from mismanagement, they will ever continue so, and form an important barrier against the more powerful casts of India.

From the length of time which Bombay has been under the control of Europeans, the Persees, since their arrival there, have adopted little of the Asiatic manners. They indeed wear the dress, which they informed me had been adopted on their arrival, but they eat and drink like the English. Ardiseer Dady, one of their richest members, gave me a most magnificent entertainment. The table for the Europeans was chiefly covered with English

cookery, but they sent me from their own several dishes, which were very highly seasoned, and good. The wines were excellent; but when I adjourned to their table, I was not a little astonished to find liqueurs placed opposite each Persee, which they drank in glasses as freely as wine, and which, though they sat late, seemed to have no effect on them. Their houses are furnished with a profusion of English looking-glasses, prints, and paintings. They always light them up remarkably well; but on this occasion the whole gardens were illuminated with torches and lamps, which had a most brilliant effect. The band playing in the verandah, and the crowd of differently dressed people had the semblance of an English masquerade. We had a very good set of nautch-girls, which much pleased Sir James Mackintosh, who had not before seen this Asiatic amusement. Coffee and tea, pawn and attar, lavender water, and other perfumes, completed the melange of this Anglo-Asiatic entertainment, from which we departed about midnight.

To the credit of the Persee humanity, they provide for all their poor; and to the credit of their private morals, there is not a single prostitute, or mistress to a gentleman, of their cast, in the settlement. They are generous and splendid in the higher orders; and in the lower, active and intelligent, far surpassing as servants the Mussulmauns or Hindoos. They mostly speak English with propriety. In their persons they are a handsome race, fairer than the natives, though not possessing the clear skin of the Europeans. In their manners they are uniformly conciliatory and mild. I confess that I infinitely prefer them to any race of people in the East subject to the British control. They have numerous temples to Fire, but their priests seem to have no authority in temporal concerns,

nor much spiritual control. Their religion is tolerant, and, as far as it throws no impediment in the way of the public service, must be considered politically as a good one. Sir William Jones petulantly attacked the authenticity of their sacred code, the Zend Avesta, as translated by Monsieur Anquetil de Perron; but he himself, before his death, was convinced of his error. Sir James Mackintosh is studying the language, and will probably favour the world with some additional information on the subject; but from the accounts that I have received, I have no doubt of the authenticity of the original, or of the fidelity of Monsieur Anquetil de Perron's translation.

The beauty of the esplanade, every morning and evening, is greatly heightened by the votaries of the Sun, who crowd there in their white flowing garments, and coloured turbans, to hail his rising, or pay respect, by their humble prostration, to his parting rays. On this occasion the females do not appear, but they still go to the wells for water, as did the wives of the ancient patriarchs. Many of those in a higher line of life retire from the city to their country residences early in the evening, in which case they assemble in their one-horse chaises at a beautiful spot called the Breach, where a former Governor built a noble causeway at an expense of 10,000 rupees, thereby saving a considerable tract of country from the gradual incroachments of the sea, which had nearly made its way across the island. It is a work of great merit, and has stood firm against all the violence of the S. W. monsoon. The India Company were however offended at the expense, and the poor Governor lost his place. The tract that was recovered has hitherto been marshy and useless, but some gentlemen have undertaken to drain it, and, apparently, are likely to succeed.

The strict attention that is paid in Bengal to the conduct of the Cadets on their arrival, unfortunately does not exist at Bombay, and the consequence of the neglect is melancholy. On their landing they too often are obliged to live at the tavern, not having any fixed place of abode, where they not only run in debt, frequently to the blasting of their future prospects, but by the facility of access to wine and women, sow the seeds of those complaints which afterwards carry them prematurely to the grave. Varsovah had been chosen as a residence for the Cadets, but in 1804 the fever broke out there, and they were obliged to be removed to Mehum, but not before numbers had perished from the unhealthiness of the climate, and, it is said, from the want of proper regulation in the establishment, the young men having been permitted to bathe when they pleased, and expose themselves to the effect of the night air.

It was at one of the country houses in the vicinity of Bombay, that the unfortunate accident of the death of Hadjee Khaleb Khan took place in July 1802. He had arrived only a few days before as Ambassador from the Persian Court to the Government of India, when a dispute arose between some of his Excellency's followers and the sepoys who guarded the house, in consequence of one of the former's insisting on entering a part of the garden, which the Ambassador had ordered to be kept private. The sentinel, in obedience to his orders, refused to permit him, when the Persian, who was drunk, at length drew his sword, and, being joined by his countrymen, a regular battle ensued. The Ambassador, who had retired to his couch after having himself too freely indulged in the pleasures of the table, arose on hearing the tumult, and rushed out

to separate the combatants. In the confusion he was not known, and a chance shot in a moment put an end to his life. Several of his followers also perished, but they deserved their fate; for they had irritated the sepoys by the most insulting language, and the severest ridicule of their religious prejudices. The Ambassador's nephew, though severely wounded, recovered, and received the kindest attentions from the officers of the Bombay Government, who were fully exculpated in his mind from any blame respecting the untimely fate of his uncle.

The Marquis Wellesley learned, soon after his arrival in India, that attempts were making by Tippoo to form a close alliance with Zemaun Shah, Sultaun of Cabul, and to induce him to attack the British in the North, at the time when he should occupy their attention by hostilities in the Peninsula. To render the projects of Tippoo abortive, his Lordship sent a respectable native, Mindi Alli Khan, to the Court of Ispahan, to open a communication with the present sovereign, who was at that time engaged in hostilities with Zemaun Shah. He was directed to urge the King to approach the frontiers of Korasan, as soon as his enemy should move towards the Indies; and, if he should find a favourable reception, Mindi Alli Khan was to announce the Governor General's intention of sending a public embassy to arrange a commercial treaty, and cement a close alliance between the two countries. The King of Persia was fully aware of the importance of the British alliance, and complied with the request made to him. Zemaun Shah, who had advanced as far as Lahore, immediately returned back, and his brother, taking advantage of his unpopularity, deposed him, and, with the barbarity so common in Asia, put out his eyes. India

having been thus relieved from immediate alarm, Major Malcolm was, in 1799, sent to the Court of Ispahan, where he completely conciliated the sovereign and his ministers, and induced them to refuse to receive a person deputed with the most conciliatory propositions from Bonaparté in Egypt. Commercial arrangements were also entered into, and every required security was granted to the British for more freely carrying on their trade.

The unfortunate fate of the Ambassador, who was sent to repay the compliment of Major Malcolm's mission, has been before observed; but there was no reason to suppose that it would have any effect in diminishing the friendship between Persia and India; since the Governor General immediately sent off an explanation of the transaction by a Mr. Loveit, who was directed to carry the letter to Persia. Unfortunately for the East India Company, he became alarmed at Busheir, and delivered the letter to Mr. Manesty, who immediately raised himself into an Ambassador, and departed for Ispahan, determined to rival Major Malcolm in importance. He had already drawn for a lac and forty thousand rupees, which would not pay half his expenses. Lord Wellesley, at first, ordered the bill to be refused payment, but on considering that it might effect our credit in Persia, he altered his intention, but directed that Mr. Manesty should be made responsible for the amount.

The King of Persia, engaged as he was in a difficult, and rather disastrous war with Russia, rejoiced to hear that another embassy had arrived from India, and hastened to meet it at Balk, where he received the Ambassador with the highest honours. It was immediately urged by the King, that we should afford him assist-

ance against his enemy; and he was not a little mortified to find that the affair of Hadjee Khaleb Khan's death, about which he was perfectly indifferent, was the only subject on which the new ambassador could speak. Had a simple messenger, like Mr. Loveit, carried the letter, this inconvenience would have been prevented, and the Company would have saved three lac of rupees, that is, if they should please to allow Mr. Manesty his expenses, a point which will be referred to them by Lord Wellesley.

With prudent management, I think a close connection might be cemented, between the two countries, as the trade between them would be beneficial to both; and the only difficulty, the impracticability of our assisting one ally against another, might be obviated by a friendly mediation at St. Petersburgh. At present our respectability is not great in the Persian Gulf, where we have submitted to have our merchant vessels plundered, and our cruizers insulted, by the piratical states on its shores. Of these the most powerful are the Johesserm Arabs, whose coast extends from Cape Mussendom to Bahrein. Their chief ports are Rosselkeim, about forty leagues S. S. W. of the Cape, and Egmaum, about twenty-four miles further on. Through the systematic forbearance of the Bombay Government they have risen to a great maritime power, and possess at least thirty-five dows of different sizes, carrying from fifty to three hundred men each. They have few guns, but, being brave and fierce, chiefly attack by boarding, with their crooked daggers stabbing every one who resists. They have taken two large vessels belonging to Mr. Manesty, and had even the impudence to attack the Mornington frigate; but were beaten off. The Honourable Company's cruizers have positive orders to treat these pirates with

civility, never to attack them, but only to act on the defensive: the consequence is, that they only look at the stronger vessels, but take every one that has not the power of resistance.

Independently of the real loss, which the native merchants suffer from the value of the captured cargoes, this mean submission ought to be ended, from the conviction of the degradation we suffer in the eye of Persia, by permitting it. A dignified independence, a visible power of supporting the honour of our flag, of protecting our friends, and punishing our enemies, are necessary for the acquirement of the confidence of an Eastern sovereign. Persia herself neither is, nor can be, a great naval power. Were we to protect her coast from the depredations of these pirates, who even extend their devastations to the villages on the sea shore, she would be gratefully attached to us, and would be bound by the strong tie of interest to protect the northern frontier of our dominion, by being prepared to enter the territories of the Abdalli, should he leave them unguarded to attack us. To ascertain the real value of a close connection with Persia is impossible; but some idea may be entertained of it, by a reference to the splendour with which the barren island of Ormus shone forth under the Portuguese, when they monopolized the trade of the Gulf, and secured it from the attack of pirates by a marine, as pre-eminent in those days, as ours is now in every part of the globe, except in the Eastern seas.

I had been so highly gratified by the pagoda at Carli, that I determined to visit others in the Island of Salsette, which, according to the accounts that I had received, were formed on a similar plan. Accordingly I set off early on the morning of the 22d of November, accompanied by Mr. Salt, and some of the Governor's family. We

breakfasted at a small village of Ambola, where we were received by the Portuguese Curé, and afterwards we turned out of our way to examine an extensive excavation, which Monsieur Anquetil du Perron has described in his introduction to the translation of the Zend Avesta, and has given a plan of it, under the name of Djegueseri. All the apartments were square, and the roof was flat, throughout; in the centre was a smaller building with a lingam; the whole was therefore probably dedicated to Mahadeo. Several groups of figures in basso relievo, adorned the walls. They were much decayed, and the whole had a very unpleasant appearance. The floor, being lower than the surrounding country, was extremely damp, and the light, admitted at the three entrances, was nothing better than darkness visible. They run north and south, passing through a small hill that, in parts, is covered with jungle. There was no appearance of attendant Brahmins, but the lingam had been newly ornamented.

We went on to dinner to Mont pesier, where our tents were pitched for us. Here are the ruins of a very handsome church and monastery, which, I understand, formerly belonged to the Jesuits: Monsieur Anquetil du Perron says, to the Franciscans; but I am inclined to consider my information as correct, from there being the remains of an observatory on a small hill in the neighbourhood, which was more probably the work of the intelligent followers of Ignatius Loyola, than of the lazy monks of St. Francis. The church was originally lined with pannel-work of wood, disposed in compartments, and richly ornamented with carving. In the centre of each was the head of a saint, tolerably executed, surrounded by wreaths of flowers, and other fanciful sculpture, in a very excellent

taste. The whole is in ruins, the roof having fallen in. The author, whom I have before mentioned, attributes this to the devastations of the Mahrattas, who, he says, carried away the wood work to Tannah; but this appears improbable. Timber is not scarce; and if they had carried away the more solid work, they would hardly have left behind them the parts that were richly ornamented. Under the church a small pagoda has been formed out of the rock; it is square, and flat roofed, with a few deities, and other figures, in basso-relievo. These the good priests had covered up with a smooth coat of plaister, and had converted the whole into a chapel. At present the original proprietors have been uncovered, and have again become objects of adoration to the ignorant native.

Early on the morning of the 23d we departed for the Caves of Kenneri, which are the most important in the island, and are formed out of a high knowl, in the middle of the range of hills which divides the island nearly into two equal parts. I soon found that, limited as I was for time, it would be impossible to investigate the whole of the caves, I therefore gave my chief attention to the great cavern, which resembles the one at Carli, in being oblong, and having a coved roof, though it is inferior to it in size, in elegance of design, and in beauty of execution. It has the same singular building at the upper end, and the vestibule is equally adorned with figures. Its peculiar ornaments are two gigantic figures of Boodh, nearly twenty feet high, each filling one side of the vestibule. They are exactly alike, and are in perfect preservation, in consequence of their having been christened and painted red by the Portuguese, who left them as an appendage to a Christian church, for such this temple of Boodh became under their transforming hands. I have

FRONT VIEW OF THE CAVE OF KENNERI.

Pub. 30th May 1809 by William Miller, Albemarle Street, London.

given a view of the front of the temple, and an etching of the gigantic figure of the presiding deity, whose image, in all the usual attitudes, embellishes several other parts of the vestibule; and one in particular is ornamented with the conical cap worn by the Chinese Fo. The entrance, on which there are several inscriptions in the unknown character, faces the west. It is worthy observation, that these two circumstances, and the coved roof, seem to be peculiar to the temples dedicated to Boodh; at least it is so in the two I have seen, and in the one at Ellora described by Sir Charles Mallet in the Asiatic Researches. In one of the large square caves which adjoin that above described, are many figures, and one that is very remarkable, as it shows Vishnou himself in the act of fanning Boodh with the chourie: a superior deity may, however, be supposed to reside in the circular temples, for within them is no image, unless the circular building called by the natives the Dhagope, can be considered as a prodigious lingam. I ought to add, that in the cave of Ellora there does appear a statue annexed to the Dhagope, which, from the manner of holding the finger of one hand between the finger and thumb of the other, is probably designed for Boodh.

The innumerable caves, which have been formed in every part of the hill, are square, and flat roofed. I cannot but consider them as meant for the habitations of the attendant Brahmins. A very curious tradition is mentioned by Monsieur Anquetil du Perron, as having been recorded by a Jesuit in a history of the West Indies, printed in Portugal; it is, that the whole of these caves were the work of a Gentoo king, some thousand years ago, to secure his only son from the attempts of another nation to gain him over to their religion. This must probably refer to some disputes between the

Brahmins and the Boodhists, and might, if it could be traced, throw some light on the relative antiquity of the two religions. The most perplexing circumstance, that the character used by the latter is now no longer understood, while that of the former is in constant use, makes it difficult to believe that the Brahmins are justified in their claim to superior antiquity. It is a subject, however, on which I cannot presume to give an opinion.

It is not only the numerous caves, that give an idea of what the population of this barren rock must once have been, but the tanks, the terraces, and the flights of steps which lead from one part to another; yet now not a human footstep is to be heard, except when the curiosity of a traveller leads him to pay a hasty visit to the ruined habitation of those, whose very name has passed away, and whose cultivated fields are become an almost impassable jungle, the haunt of tigers, and the seat of pestilence and desolation. After copying the inscriptions and taking views of the most interesting objects, we with difficulty made our way through the jungle to an open space, on the verge of the cultivated tracts, where our tents were pitched out of the way of fever and tigers.

We reached Tannah, the capital of the Island of Salsette, to breakfast, and were hospitably received by Mr. Spencer the Resident. A small fort commands the passage between the island and the Mahratta country, but is otherwise of little use. Confined as the settlement of Bombay formerly was, the acquisition of Salsette was an incalculable advantage, from the certainty which is afforded of a constant supply of fresh provision for the town and fleet. Little however has hitherto been done to increase its produce, and the greater part remains an useless jungle, instead of being converted

into fields of rice, and plantations of sugar; even wood itself is only procured at a very high price, chiefly for want of arrangement. If no better use is to be made of the island, it might certainly supply this article at half the price that is now paid for it. Dr. Scott has set a good example of enterprise, by establishing a very valuable sugar plantation. On the 25th we returned to Bombay in the Government boat.

I was afterwards tempted by the verdant appearance of the Island of Elephanta, which rears its woody head nearly in the centre of the bay, as much as by the report of its celebrated cave, to pay it a visit. The accurate Niebuhr has given so good an account of it, that a description is unnecessary. I have only to observe, that I do not think either his drawing, or the etching in the Asiatic Researches, have given the character of the triune deity. Brahmah's countenance admirably expresses the undisturbed composure of the creator of the world; Vishnou's, on the left, has every feature of benevolence, while the lotus which he holds in his hand seems to be expanding under the genial ray of his eye. Seva's, on the contrary, has a ghastly and dire scowl, that well accords with the objects that he holds before him, two of the most venemous of serpents, the covra copel. I was much surprised at the ingenuity of the conception, and the merit of the execution, of these figures. How superior must they have appeared when in a state of perfection!

It was pleasing to me to find, that the great cave of Elephanta, which opens to the north, and has a flat roof, had no inscription in the unknown character, nor any figure of Boodh. Of the numerous deities of the Hindoo mythology, many have been honoured with a place; but the most curious figure, and which has been

noted by every traveller, is that of a female amazon, which, from having four arms, most probably represents some super-human personage. Did the romance of the Amazons reach Greece from India, or were there ever such personages in the Eastern world are interesting questions, but at present incapable of solution. There is no appearance of any great violence having been used to injure the figures. Had cannon been employed by the Portuguese for that purpose, the marks of the balls would have been visible, and the destruction would have been among the figures. As it is, the pillars are more rapidly decaying than any other part. The water is permitted during the rains to lodge in the cave, and the stone, being a soft one, moulders perceptibly away in the vicinity of the open air. The scene, from the little level space in front, is extremely beautiful, and a cool breeze tempers the heat in the most sultry day of summer. The beauty of the place has however been considerably diminished by a wall, which has been erected across the front, to prevent cattle from getting in, and, as I hear, to prevent curious visitors also from treacherously carrying off the legs, heads, and arms of these helpless deities.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Bombay.—Arrival at Mocha.—Visit to the Dola, and Bas Kateb.—Preparations for continuing the Voyage.—Private conference with the Dola.—Departure from Mocha.—Aroe Islands.—Sir H. Popham's Chart of the Red Sea.—Howakel.—Arrival at Dhalac.—Mr. Maxfield's Report of his Voyage.—Reasons for supposing Howakel Bay to be Opsian Bay of the Periplus.—Mr. Salt's Report of his Visit to Dhalac-el-Kibeer, Girbeshid, and Dobelew.—Captain Court's Survey of Dhalac.—Observations on Mr. Bruce's Account of it.—Arrival at Massowah.—Commercial arrangements.—Dispute with the Dola of Arkeko.—Departure from Massowah.

CHAPTER V.

DECEMBER 3.—Mr. Duncan had most obligingly ordered one of the Company's vessels, the Mornington, to be prepared to convey me to Bussorah, whither I had determined to proceed, when all my plans were changed by the arrival of dispatches from the Governor General, recommending a continuation of the survey of the Red Sea, and at the same time delicately hinting, that I might possibly be induced to make an attempt to complete what I had so well begun. On receiving from Mr. Duncan assurances that every arrangement should be made for the immediate departure of the vessel to be employed, and that I should be permitted to select the officers, I determined to comply with his Excellency's expectation. The Panther cruizer, being a smaller vessel than the Mornington, was considered as more suitable to the service of surveying, and was therefore ordered to be got ready. Lieutenant Charles Court was appointed to command her, in consequence of the very high character which he bore, as a seaman, and a man of science.

Lieutenant Maxfield, who had been second Lieutenant of the Antelope, received the appointment to the Assaye, a small French schooner, which had been taken by a King's ship, and had been purchased by the Bombay Government, on the recommendation of the Marine board, as being a capital sailer. She was intended to accompany us as a tender in the more difficult navigation which

we had reason to expect above Massowah. Mr. Macgie was, at my particular request, nominated as Surgeon, although not in the East India Company's service, in consequence of the experience I had had in my former voyage of his abilities, and his great attention to the health of the men.

Two time-keepers, and the instruments requisite for nautical observations and land surveying, were provided by the Bombay Government; and Mr. Duncan completed his kind attentions to my comfort, by directing Captain Court to keep a table for me at the expense of the East India Company.

Captain Rudland of the Bombay army having expressed a wish to join our party, instead of returning to England by sea, I rejoiced in obtaining for him the necessary permission from the Governor, and the Commander in Chief, as an additional European gentleman would be a great satisfaction in crossing the desert from Suez to Cairo. Nothing could be more favourable than the season, as the monsoon was N. E. to the straits of Bab-el-mandeb, and S. E. from the Red Sea to Suez; we were therefore impatient to depart, and the 1st of December was fixed for that purpose. It was however not till the 3d, that Captain Court received his final orders, which were in every respect to obey the instructions that he should receive from me. I parted with Mr. Duncan, whose amiable and benevolent character must conciliate the esteem of all who know him, with great, and I flatter myself, with mutual, regret. He paid a last attention to me by sending his Aid-de-camp and the Town Major to attend me to the sea-shore, and saluting me on my departure. I found the Panther by no means ready for sea, and therefore went on board the yacht, which was anchored close to us, to pay a visit

to Sir James Mackintosh, who was on board with his family, intending to try the effect of a cruize as a cure for an intermittent fever, under which they were suffering. On returning to the Panther, I learned that the carpenter had run away, and it was late at night before another could be procured. I did not choose to return to the town, and therefore slept on board.

December 4.—We set sail at four in the morning with a very pleasant breeze, and before night the land was completely out of sight. The Panther had been considered as a bad sailer, and we were led to suppose that the Assaye would constantly keep ahead; we however found the contrary, with a fair wind. The Panther sailed tolerably well, and we were obliged to shorten sail for the Assaye.

December 6.—I this day experienced the deleterious effect of a land breeze in Bombay harbour. I had unfortunately forgotten on the night of the 3d, that I was still within its reach, and the port-hole of my cabin had been left open: in consequence of which a severe attack of fever came on this day, but without a cold fit: and, as I was at sea, which is generally prescribed as a certain cure, I hoped I should not suffer long. It is impossible to have finer weather than we have enjoyed since we left Bombay. The N.E. monsoon is justly called the fair weather monsoon; the Assaye seemed fit for no other.

December 12.—This was the first day of the fever's attack that I found any remission. I had used the bark constantly on the intermitting day, and had taken opium and calomel at night. The weather had been extremely pleasant, and we should have made great way but for the Assaye.

December 15.—I had no return of my fever on the 14th. We

this day saw the Arab shore. It was the high land of Kisseen, distant about eighteen miles. As there was now no danger of the Assaye's not making her passage, I determined to make the best of our way to Mocha: accordingly Mr. Maxfield was sent for, and directed to stop at Aden, and enquire if Mr. Pringle was there, a circumstance by no means impossible; and if he was, to bring him up with him. We made sail in the evening.

December 19.—We coasted along with pleasant land and sea breezes; passed Aden early in the morning of the 18th; through the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb, with a stiff gale from the S. E. during the same night; and at seven anchored considerably to the northward of the north fort of Mocha. It blew so heavy a gale that we were not able to make the roads. The Panther was extremely crank, and totally unable to make any way when close to the wind. This defect was in some measure compensated for by our discovering that, though the swell was very great, she rode well at anchor, easier indeed than any vessel I ever was in. Besides, she was very comfortable, drew little water, and went well before a wind. She had however a very considerable heel to starboard, that was much against us, and for which we could not account. It will hardly be believed, that in a vessel reported ready for sea, there was not a single buoy; yet such was the fact, and we were daily in the habit of discovering similar deficiencies. Two fishermen, who, in consequence of their supplying the British squadron in the Red Sea, had been named Admiral Blanket, and Lord Bombay, came off in one of the native boats, by whom I sent a short note to Mr. Pringle, and received an answer, saying he would be with me as soon as the weather would permit. We were a little alarmed on getting into sight of the roads to

perceive three large ships there. They hoisted American colours as we approached, and we soon found that they were of that nation, two from Salem, and one from Baltimore. The wind continued the same during the whole day.

December 20.—It still blew too fresh to go on shore. We made an attempt, with the tide in our favour, to reach the roads, but without success; and had the misfortune, in heaving our anchor, to injure the capstern. On examination it appeared, that though newly put together, for the Panther had lately been in dock, it had been made of old wood, partly consumed by the dry rot. However vexatious the delay might be, it was impossible to proceed till this injury should be repaired. We had also here to procure money for the expenses of the ship, and for my own private expenditure, by drawing bills on Bombay, which had been recommended to us as more advantageous than bringing cash from that place. Captain Court also required an interpreter, and I wished to get a servant who spoke English and Arabic; a communication with the shore became therefore absolutely necessary; but as I could not venture during the violence of the gale, in our small boat, I wrote to Mr. Pringle, stating all our wants, and requesting, if possible, he would come off in an American long boat, which would be a much better sea-boat than ours.

December 21.—I received in the course of the day letters in abundance from Mr. Pringle, but he did not come off, though he certainly might have done so in the American boats, which went several times to their ships. Irritated and surprised at this neglect, I accepted Mr. Salt's offer to go on shore in a native boat, and return in the morning, either with or without Mr. Pringle. I also

desired him to wait on the Dola, and request, in my name, permission for a servant and interpreter to accompany me up the Red Sea.

December 22.—Early in the morning Mr. Salt returned, and with him Mr. Pringle, in an American cutter. Mr. Salt had, according to my request, seen the Dola, who had behaved with the utmost politeness, not only permitting the servant I applied for to accompany me, but also giving me leave to hire any one I pleased for an interpreter. He at the same time assured Mr. Salt, that he was extremely concerned he was not properly acquainted with my rank when I was last at Mocha, in consequence of which he did not pay me the requisite attention, but that now, if I chose to land, his horses and people should meet me; and, if I visited him, I should be saluted with four guns on my arrival, and on my leaving him. I was not a little astonished at this ridiculous change in his behaviour, being certain that he was perfectly informed of every particular respecting me, before I landed from the Antelope; however, I determined to go on shore, and treat him with equal politeness. I was saluted as I quitted the vessel with seventeen guns, and the three American vessels in the roads paid me the same compliment on my entering the boat, when their colours were hoisted. It was usually calmer in the morning, but we had delayed till it blew very fresh. We attempted to make the shore opposite, but found rocks at some distance, and were obliged to beat four miles to windward, which took us up several hours. It was extremely unpleasant, the boat making more water on one tack, than we could bale: but on the other we were able to get her dry. She sailed well, or it would have been impossible for us to reach the shore.

After much difficulty and some danger we landed, and found horses waiting for us.* Captain Crowninshield and the other Americans who were on shore met us without the town, as did Devage, and many others; at the gate the Dola's horses and tom-toms were waiting, which preceded me with their incessant din to his house. I was permitted to ride to the steps of the door, a very unusual condescension at the present day, though formerly it was allowed to all Europeans who visited the Dola. It was the fast of Ramadan, when the Arabs eat nothing from the rising of the sun to the setting; to make which as easy as possible, they turn night into day, carousing during the whole of the former, and dedicating the latter to sleep. The Dola was not awake, so that he could not receive me, and I was kept waiting a few minutes; however, to compensate this neglect, he rose up to pay his compliments to each of the gentlemen of my party, who were successively presented to him. The usual compliments passed. Rose water was presented, and our chins perfumed with frankincense. To a bearded Arab this must be a pleasant ceremony; but to us I always thought it had a ridiculous appearance, and smiled when my friends underwent the operation. The two salutes of four guns each were fired, as he promised. I found the factory as dirty as ever, and in as great confusion. It was one of my first labours to induce Mr. Pringle to put it a little in order. The Americans were very sensible and intelligent men, particularly Captain Crowninshield, who belonged to the very respectable house of that name, and Captain Bancroft, who was originally educated for the bar, but obliged by ill health to give it up. Abdallah, whom I wished to take with me as my servant, agreed to go, and immediately began procuring us the necessaries wanted.

We urged Devage to get us a dow without delay, and immediately procured from him the money we required.

December 23.—We went on with our preparations, and visited the Bas Kateb, a venerable Arab with a long white beard. He was extremely civil; but, towards the end of the conversation, observed that old customs ought to be kept up. I said if they were good ones, certainly; but if bad, the sooner they were altered the better. This I knew had reference to the old dispute about the boys running away, and therefore I was determined not to permit his observation to pass unnoticed. The Dola sent me a number of sheep.

December 24.—We hired a dow for three hundred dollars to go the voyage to above Suakin. I paid the Dola an evening visit, Mr. Pringle having previously sent him presents, in my name, to the amount of five hundred dollars, and to the Bas Kateb two hundred. Nothing particular passed, except his saying that he begged I would consider Mocha as my house, and that the gates should be open for me at any hour. He expressed a wish to have some private conversation with me before my departure. I said, I would wait on him the evening before I embarked. Mr. Criddle, our youngest Midshipman, was with us; the Dola wanted to know if he was my son, whence arose a conversation respecting our sons. He showed me his, and told me he had one more, an infant. He then asked after mine. His manners were bad, and his whole appearance mean. The apartment was small, and the staircases, as usual in Arab houses, narrow and inconvenient, with numerous doors at the landing places; probably meant as a defence against a sudden attack.

December 25.—The Americans kindly lent us their boats and carpenters to repair our capstern. The wind rendered all communication with the vessel extremely difficult. We spent a very pleasant Christmas day at the factory, being fourteen in number, a large party of white faces for so distant a part of the globe.

December 26.—Our dow met with an accident in being launched, in consequence of which we were still delayed. We therefore determined to send off Mr. Maxfield in the Assaye direct to Massowah, with letters for the Nayib, informing him of my intention to visit him, and requesting that two pilots might be procured to conduct the ship to Suakin, assuring him that the two hundred dollars should be paid for them, being the price he had previously demanded. Mr. Maxfield had instructions to meet us at Dhalac, where we intended to water. I wrote at the same time to the Banian, to desire he would expedite the procuring of the pilots.

December 30.—Mr. Maxfield sailed on the 27th; but there was so much sea that he parted his cable, and left his anchor behind him, nor have we been able to recover it. The wind this day was much more moderate, and the swell less. We lived very pleasantly at the factory: all the officers that could be spared coming on shore. The Americans exerted themselves to please and serve. The weather was very pleasant, and the nights perfectly cool: to-morrow is the last day of Ramadan, and the dow was still unready, our people being determined to spend at least one day of the following Ede with their families.

January 1, 1805.—We were fortunate in procuring a pilot, who bore a most excellent character, and had been for thirty years sailing between Mocha and Suakin. He was brother to the

Naqueda of the dow. He asked one hundred and fifty dollars for the trip, and I gave them to him, lest there should be any delay at Massowah. It rendered us completely independent of the Nayib. On the evening of the 30th I visited the Dola, to request the gates might be opened for me at four o'clock in the morning, that I might be gone before the wind freshened. He said it could not be, and began to argue about it. I was very angry, and told him, that if he had not offered it, I should never have made the application. He wanted me to go out at the sally port, which I positively refused, and desired that the servants might be turned out of the room that we might speak in private. This was done; and Mr. Pringle pointedly reprobated his caprice about the gates. He then said they should be open.

We had now a very singular political conversation of about two hours. It began by his observing that old customs should be preserved. This I denied, and said they ought to change with the times: that in India we had become masters by the will of God, and that many customs existed before that period, which must now be laid aside. He replied, "I know very well that is the case in India; but what do you English mean to do with Yemen?" I replied, laughing, "nothing, but to get as much coffee from it as we can." He said, he believed we were all Wahabees. I told him I knew but one Wahabee, and that was Sidi Mohammed Akil. He laughed, and asked how I knew him to be one. I replied, he told me so.

He now asked Mr. Pringle's permission to say something to me, which being of course granted, he began a regular complaint against that gentleman; "that without his knowledge he had

written to the Sheriffe of Abou Arish, who was making war against the Imaum, and taking his country from him." The fact certainly was so; but it was merely commercial, respecting coffee to be purchased at Loheia. This I represented; but he seemed by no means satisfied. I assured him in the most solemn manner, that I knew it was the determination of the Bombay Government not to assist the Wahabees against the Imaum of Sana; and that had such been their intention, they would have sent a direct intimation, and not through the medium of Mr. Pringle, who was only a civil servant employed for the purposes of trade. He could not, for some time, be convinced. He said, " Why was not the letter shewn?" And asked me explicitly, if the carrying on such a correspondence was not criminal. I replied, that if Mr. Pringle wrote to any enemy of the Imaum, in a way that could be injurious to that Prince, while living under his protection, he would certainly act criminally, and deserve to be punished; but if it was merely about coffee, he must not blame Mr. Pringle, but that Providence which had placed the coffee country under the control of the Sheriffe; that where the articles were to be had, there the merchant would go. He said it had never been so, and that the Imaum would not permit coffee to be exported from Loheia. I asked how he would hinder it. He laughed, and said, " well, if you are determined, you must send ships to Loheia, but the Imaum will not like it."

He enquired where the Assaye was gone, and where I was going. I told him, to Masssowah, as he might know by the pilots I had hired. He was evidently uneasy, and under an impression that I had some hostile intentions. I again repeated all I had said; and

added, that had I received any instructions from India inimical to him, I should have proceeded directly to Loheia, and not visited him and drank coffee with him. He at length declared he was satisfied, and that I had removed a heavy load from his mind. When I arose up to take my leave, I requested to put his hand into Mr. Pringle's, to which he consented; and I left them professedly friends. He conducted me the whole length of the room quite to the door, a compliment he never before paid to any one.

The whole conversation gave me a much better opinion of his understanding than I had before. He certainly had reason for his alarms; and the manner in which he pushed forward the enquiry was decorous, yet able. The Wahabees are assembling a very large force at Loheia and Hodeida. They have collected the revenue of Beit-il-Fakih and the surrounding country, and have sent to Mocha to say they will be there as soon as Ramadan is over. They have many friends in the town, and I see nothing that can resist them. To add to the Dola's alarms, I arrived in a vessel, which, instead of anchoring in the roads near the fort, kept aloof to the north; and instead of landing, I only sent off letters to the Resident. To his fears, therefore, I attribute his civility; and in this idea I am confirmed by Nathaniel Pierce, one of the men who, from fear of Captain Keys, ran away from the Antelope, and turned Mussulmaun: this man, through my servant, applied to me, stating the wretched situation he was in, declaring his sincere repentance, and beseeching me to permit him to attend me, even as a slave, to Europe. I consented to receive him, and he came off in the boat last night. He tells me that the Dola has been alarmed ever since my departure, suspecting that I was gone to the Wahabees, and

would return with them. He frequently asked Pierce if I was as great a man as Sir Home Popham, and whether he thought I should come back? Pierce assured him I should not; yet here I was, at the moment the Wahabees were expected.

I confess I felt very great pleasure in depriving the Dola of this man at so critical a moment. All the old renegadoes had gone off with a party of fifty Turks belonging to dows, who marched them down to the pier in the middle of the day, and the Dola's askaris dared not attempt to prevent them. They became Wahabees, and are now at Loheia, ready to march against Mocha, every foot of which they are perfectly acquainted with. They know the proper place for the attack, and even sent word to Pierce not to be near the middle fort, as they should enter there. This may be done with the utmost facility, as the ports are only a few feet from the ground. The Dola is so much alarmed that, on about one hundred Wahabees coming to one of the gates, and offering to inlist with him, he gave them a dollar each, and sent them away; afraid to take them, and yet afraid to refuse. It is singular, that the very act of procuring converts, on which the Dola so much prided himself, should now conduce to his ruin. His violation of the law of nations recoils on his own head. One of the two boys, who escaped from the factory, is dead; the other is to be married this Ede. The little boys are very ill. I sent them some medicine, which they took secretly; the bigotry of the Mussulmauns will not allow them to do it openly. Some laudanum I gave Pierce was taken from him: they said it was sheitan, and that prayers were better. All the remaining renegadoes mean to try to get off in the three American ships: when we went on shore they were at Moosa, so that our people did not see them.

We have hired Alli Nohri as an interpreter. He speaks but indifferent Moors; however, he writes Arabic; and as he has been in the service of Mr. Pringle, ought to be more worthy of trust than a common servant.

January 2.—Early in the morning our little dow was along side of us, and we received from the shore our last stock of vegetables. At eight we weighed anchor and steered for the Aroe Islands, so called in the charts, but probably a corruption of Jibbel Arish, the name of the largest island. We had a very stiff breeze, and a strong current to the northward. The swell lessened as we approached the African shore. This was the case during our last voyage, and it was satisfactory to find it the same at this season. Our vessel was so crank that we were obliged to carry only close-reefed topsails on the cap. We passed between the white rocks, which the pilot called the Children of Arish, and the islands, as on our return from Massowah, and were extremely surprised to find how incorrectly they were laid down in Sir Home Popham's chart of the Red Sea; the Great Aroe having been left out, while the others were none of them in their true position. Captain Court expressed his surprise, that Mr. Maxfield had been able to lay the places down so accurately in his chart, from the little assistance he received. We went close to Rackmah, and upon the credit of Mr. Maxfield's chart, sailed all night. It blew very fresh, and there was a considerable following sea. The Panther was so light, that we could not make her go less than seven knots with a double reefed fore-topsail close to the cap. We kept rather without the line of the Antelope's course, and had deeper water, with sometimes no soundings.

January 3.—Ras Kussar was in sight in the morning, and the

weather more moderate, with a smooth sea. We found that our dow had left us in the night, having probably run in shore for shelter. We coasted along, going as near the shore as possible. Captain Court was indefatigable in taking bearings. We did not think it safe to pass between Pilot's Island and the African shore in the dark, and therefore in the evening came to an anchor in ten fathom, under shelter of a small island called Adjuice, a little to the north of Howakil. There were several fishing boats, and some dows, which ran away on our approach. Our pilot seemed well acquainted with the coast, and was on the whole a much more intelligent man than the one we had in the Antelope. He expressed great astonishment during the day at our knowing the names of the capes and islands. The weather was warmer. I had an attack of fever.

January 4.—In the morning one of the dows came along side. They were only fishing, and belonged to the eastern coast of Arabia. They said that the island, though inhabited, had no water; but that there was some on the main land behind Howakil. The former part of this account was certainly true at this time, as they begged some water from us, which we willingly gave them; but it is impossible to suppose that this can be always the case, or the inhabitants would remove to the main land. Don Juan de Castro, who anchored here in 1540, with the Portuguese fleet under Don Stefano de Gama, says that there was water on the great island, called from its figure Whale Island, by which he undoubtedly meant Howakil. They describe the Bay as not deep, nor fit for large vessels, having an entrance for dows at the southern extremity. As I considered this as probably the Opsian Bay of the Periplus, I had given Mr. Maxfield directions to examine it in the Assaye.

We sailed at day-break. Our pilot took us without Pilot's Island, through a new and a good channel, but no soundings. We had baffling winds as we approached Dhalac, and did not get to an anchor till dark. We were nearly in the old spot. Our friend the Dola came off on his catamaran, and was rejoiced to see us. We told him we came for water. He said we should have it, and every thing else we wished for. He received a present of tobacco and rice: the people all wanted some of the latter. There has been no rain since I was here, and the island is nearly burnt up. Many of their cattle and goats have died in consequence. It was determined that Captain Court should go on shore to settle every thing to-morrow. During the night we had a fresh gale from south.

January 13.—On the 5th I had a most severe attack of fever, which went off at night. I took James's powder, which I thought relieved it. On the 7th I was unwell in the morning, but the James's powder prevented a regular fit. I took two grains of calomel night and morning, which gradually recovered me, though till to-day I could hardly call myself well. Captain Court, Mr. Salt, and Captain Rudland went on shore on the 5th, and arranged every thing with the Dola for surveying the island: he himself consented for forty dollars to accompany them. They had a camel for their baggage, and asses for themselves, two Europeans as servants, and Mr. Criddle, the youngest midshipman, as assistant observer. They took with them a week's provisions; on the 6th they went on shore and departed. The Dola left a request that our people would not wander about the island, nor fire off guns in the interior, as it would alarm the inhabitants: this I faithfully promised to prevent.

The situation of the ship made it absolutely necessary to examine the state of the hold. We found that she had not sufficient ballast by several tons; that all the fire-wood had been placed under the ground tier of water-barrels, thereby raising the centre of gravity above a foot; and that the casks which were sent on board as new, had leaked out nearly the whole of their contents, being made of old worm-eaten ship timber; another instance of the neglect in every department of the marine at Bombay. Would any one believe that these vessels were received into store as new, and issued again as such! Every thing was removed, and new stowed The water was put at the bottom, and we took in six hundred and eighty-seven skins full. The Assaye received two hundred and eighteen. The water on the island near Nokhara was exhausted the second day; the rest was procured from the wells on Dhalac, near the doom-trees, where Mr. Salt formerly landed. When they shall have been more accustomed to water ships, it will be to be had more expeditiously. After the 6th the wind from the S. changed to light variable airs, with a land and sea breeze. When it blew freshest there was no swell, nor can there be, as on every side, at thirty miles, this anchorage is land-locked. The ground is mud and sand, without coral.

On the 6th Mr. Maxfield was in sight, and late at night anchored close to us. On the 7th he came on board with a letter from the Nayib of Massowah, couched in the most friendly terms. He sent one pilot, and had hired another, who was to be ready on my reaching that place. He sent a man to procure me every thing I wished for at Dhalac, whom I sent off immediately to Captain Court.

Mr. Maxfield informed me, that on leaving Mocha roads he had not been able to weather the Aroe Islands, but had been carried to the northward by the strength of the current, where he had found a free passage, which is laid down in the charts. Agreeably to the instructions he had received, he steered for Howakil, and came to an anchor among the Sarbo Zeghir Islands, forming a very safe bay, which he named Assaye Bay. He attempted to enter the harbour behind Howakil, but was driven back by a very strong current, which he could not stem with his sweeps, as the wind was adverse. The only passage that appeared practicable was extremely narrow, and had two shoals extending from the points of entrance. The native's account, that it is passable only for dows, seems therefore to be true; and Howakil Bay can be an object of curiosity only to ascertain whether the Opsian stone is found in it; for I think the description of the Periplus so exactly accords with what we have seen, that there can be no doubt of its being the Opsian Bay.

The vast accumulation of sand, that existed in the time of the Egyptian traveller, is now become a cluster of low sandy islands, nearly level with the sea, which are designated in the chart as the Arenah Islands; and the bay itself most admirably answers the description of βαθύτατος; for it is the deepest on the whole western coast of the Red Sea, except Foul Bay in lat. 23°, which cannot, from its position, be the one described. The distance from Aduli to the Opsian Bay, as stated in the Periplus, is eight hundred stadia, or, according to Dr. Vincent, eighty miles, which it ought to be, if the stadium used was the Roman, of ten to a mile; but I confess I am inclined to suppose that it was the Egyptian, of fifteen to a mile, which will make the distance a little more than fifty-three miles.

This is, in fact, the real distance from the Arenah islands to the sea shore near Massowah; at twenty stadia, or about a mile and a half, from which, stood the town of Aduli. It is highly improbable, in stating the distance between this town and the bay, that the author should have meant to carry his admeasurement to the cape at the farther extremity, instead of the one at the entrance; yet Dr. Vincent has been obliged to measure the distance to Cape Sarbo in order to make it seventy-five miles, which is still short of the eight hundred stadia mentioned in the Periplus. This difficulty, as well as many others that still encumber the work, may be removed, by supposing that the Egyptian stadium was the one meant by the author; and nothing seems to me more rational than the idea, that an Egyptian merchant sailing from Egypt would use the stadium of that country. It is, however, with the greatest hesitation that I venture to differ from Dr. Vincent, whose perfect knowledge and laborious investigation of ancient geography, entitle him to the highest deference in every point connected with it.

During Mr. Maxfield's stay at Massowah, the Nayib had given a very strong proof of his friendly regard: two of the lascars belonging to the Assaye ran away from the vessel, but were caught by some Arabs, belonging to a dow, before they could reach the shore, and carried before the Nayib, who immediately sent them to Mr. Maxfield, with a request that they might not be punished, which was promised and faithfully performed. The evils that attend the trading with Mocha from the Arab spirit of proselyting, will not therefore be extended to Massowah. On the 8th, another complimentary letter arrived from the Nayib, with a present of sheep, vegetables, limes, and water.

I dispatched the dow with her people to Valentia Island to look for shells, and employed my servant and another European in the same pursuit. They procured a few fine specimens of Cypræa, but the others that they brought were of little value.

I sent Alli Nohri on shore to procure sheep: he brought off twenty goats, for which he said they demanded fourteen dollars; and if I did not like them at that price, I must send them back. Astonished at conduct so different from what I had before experienced, I instantly did so, being convinced that it was a contrivance of this rascally Arab, who wanted to purchase every thing here, as he did at Mocha, and have cent. per cent. profit. I was convinced of his knavery by another incident. The dow brought a heifer to sell, and asked four dollars: we objected, and they would have taken three; but Alli Nohri prevented them by saying in Arabic, it was cheap at four: this they afterwards owned to my servant and Pierce.

January 14.—Captain Court, Mr. Salt, and the party, all returned, having surveyed the southern and eastern parts of the island. Mr. Salt made the following report of their proceedings during their absence.

"We left Nokhara at seven in the morning, and crossed the creek to Dhalac; but not finding the asses ready, walked to the wells on the sea shore, marked by the doom-trees, and whence latterly the water was procured for the ship. The distance was about one mile and three quarters. The country was dried up, as not a drop of rain had fallen since our last visit to the island, yet the wells were as full as ever, the water being within two feet of the surface, and good. Near the wells were some bulbs, apparently

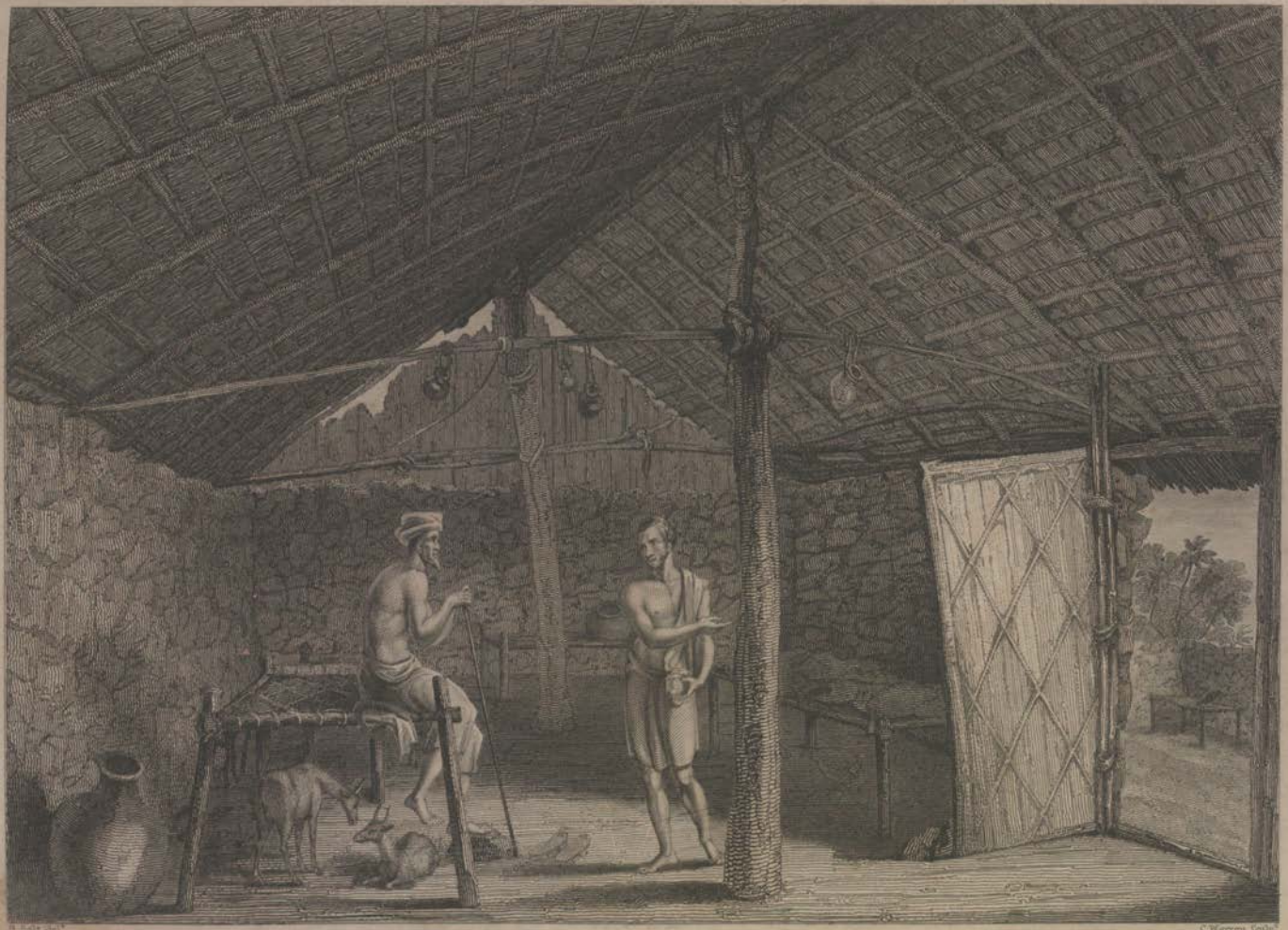
Frittilaria, of which specimens were sent on board, and also a small knotty root of a species of grass of an aromatic flavour, which is eaten by the natives. We were obliged to wait till twelve, when Captain Court took the meridian altitude, and also a set of bearings. This is a more convenient place for a vessel to water at than Nokhara, as the water is near the shore, and it is well marked by the doom-trees. At the wells was a small flock of sheep, ten or twelve in number. The date trees seemed not to have thriven since we were here, yet the soil is far better than at Mocha: a flight of small birds, not unlike averdavats, came and settled among their branches; and two vultures, of different species, that had fled, like ourselves, for shelter from the wind and sun, remained stationary under their shade. The number of goats that we this day met with is worthy of observation, considering that there was scarcely a blade of grass to be seen; but the mimosa, that braves the most burning heat, seems to afford sufficient nourishment to these, as well as to the camels that roam at large about the island. The asses at length arrived, and were more steady than usual; but the ride was unpleasant from the heat of the sun, and the force of the wind.

"After passing by the salt marsh, we stopped a few minutes, and endeavoured to procure milk or water, at a place where I had formerly obtained both, but in vain. We went up to the building where I had before been requested not to go, and found that it was only a shelter for their kids. On our arrival at Dhalac-el-Kibeer, we experienced a most welcome reception from the inhabitants. My friend the priest, who was acting as Dola when I was here with Mr. Maxfield, now presented to me the real Dola, a venerable old man, who had then been confined by indisposition. I was glad to see that they

had not forgotten me, and that they expressed pleasure at our arrival. Captain Court made an observation, and after the sun had set we took a short walk, and then laid ourselves down, well satisfied, on the humble couches prepared for us. Thermometer at Dhalac 80° in the morning, 87° at noon.

"January 8.—After breakfast we set out with all our implements of surveying, and, while the two Europeans were measuring a base from Sheik Abou-el-Heimen's tomb, made a circuit to the southward to examine the tanks. We found twelve, all nearly of the same construction, though some were much larger than others, and one was uncovered and square. Captain Court thought the largest would hold one hundred and fifty tons. They were cut out of the solid rock, and chunamed, but not lined with stone. Thence we went round to the eminence, which Captain Court had fixed upon for the other extreme of his base, at about a mile from the mausoleum. While he was engaged in taking bearings, I rode off to the point whence I had before seen the Antelope, but wandered about for a considerable time in vain, then mounted a tree, but with as little success; at length I got upon the top of a large upright stone, that stands, like a land-mark, in the middle of the plain, when I was gladdened with a sight of the Panther, which I kept steadily in view, retreating until I came into the line of the measured base, at about one mile from the stone. Captain Court took bearings from this spot, and a meridian altitude, with an artificial horizon. We afterwards returned by the north mosque, and, on our way, examined three more of the cisterns, all similar to those we had seen in the morning.

"We had fixed with the Dola to depart at noon, but it was



INTERIOR OF A HOUSE AT DHALAC.

Published 1 May 1809 by William Miller Albemarle Street London

already past that hour, and we had not nearly finished our observations; so we dined at two; at half past three Captain Court took sights, and at four went down to the mausoleum, to take a set of bearings from its summit, while in the mean time I examined the inside, in the centre of which was the tomb, covered by two pieces of coloured Indian chintz spread on a wooden frame. We extended our walk, by going round to the southern mosque, in which is a rough inscription. The architecture is tolerably regular, and the arch of the dome well formed. We then looked into five more cisterns, one of which differed from all the others, in having the roof supported by five pillars, though it was not so large as some we had seen in the morning. Its dimensions, which were taken by a man whom we let down by the log-line, were as follows; its longest diameter twenty-four feet, its shortest twenty-two; the pillars six feet in circumference, and six feet distant from each other, but at unequal distances from the wall, some two feet, some four feet; they were somewhat thicker at top, but had no regular capitals. The depth of the tank was thirteen feet, and the whole was covered with chunam. The birds seen this day were white-breasted crows, vultures, kites, pelicans, small birds of the sparrow kind, water-wagtails, the abou hannes of Bruce, and which is called so by the natives here, ring-doves, and a bird of an iron-brown colour, about the size of a pigeon. Thermometer as yesterday.

January 9.—We departed early in the morning from Dhalac-el-Kibeer, having procured asses for all our people, and camels for the baggage. On parting we gave a piece of blue cloth to the Sheik-el-Belled, a dollar to Abou-el-Heimen's tomb, and another to my friend the Sheik of the mosque, and distributed some tobacco to

the people who had assisted us in our excursions. As there was scarcely a breath of air, the heat was intolerably oppressive. The road lay at first south-easterly, over a stony plain, on which not a blade of grass was discernible After marching about three miles, a large bird, that was passing to the left, induced us to stop until the musquets were brought up; it was of a brown colour, and appeared not unlike a cassowary; the people said it was good to eat; on firing at it, it ran away, expanding its wings, but did not attempt to fly. Soon after we had recommenced our march, the road began to incline about N. E. by E. over a low sandy plain, about half a mile wide, and nearly four miles in extent, with ridges of rock on either side, that gave it somewhat the appearance of a river's bed. The rocks on the left rise into a remarkable cliff, not less, I imagine, than thirty feet above the plain; the strata lie horizontally, and are so regular that, when near us, it resembled the walls of an ancient castle.

" At a little before twelve we turned off the plain, and ascended the rocky ground to the right; when our guides pointed out to us the village of Gerbeschid, about a mile in front, which was easily distinguished, (as are all other villages or towns on the island,) by the doom-trees rising above the Mimosas, with which this part of the island more particularly abounds. We reached it soon after twelve, and took possession of a tenement, in every respect like what we had at Nokhara and Dhalac. From the last place Gerbeschid is by the road about nine miles distant. It is a most wretched assemblage of about twenty huts, and is distant three miles from the sea. It is difficult to conceive how its inhabitants manage to preserve their existence, as the drought has killed great part of

their goats, on which they depend chiefly for their support, a considerable quantity of cheese being annually exported from this place to Loheia. The putrid carcases of the dead goats still lie around the town in every direction, and send forth most pestilential effluvia. The few that survive are too ill fed to give milk, and too lean to afford substantial nourishment if killed, so that these poor people are obliged to live almost entirely upon fish, of which there is also but a scanty supply; their water, which is drawn from wells, is indeed tolerably good, but very muddy. During the most favourable seasons, this place produces few even of the necessaries of life; the additional deprivation is therefore more severely felt than it would be, probably, in most parts of the globe.

"Captain Court took observations for the latitude, and a lunar observation for the longitude; and after dinner walked towards the sea in an easterly direction. Hence the land is seen at a very considerable distance to the south, forming a creek or bay, which Captain Court afterwards ascertained to be a part of the main land of Dhalac. I learned from the Sheik-el-Belled that there were forty or fifty men living here, about eighty women, and only about ten children in the whole place; which I have reason to believe true, from the very few we saw, both then, and on our return. He added the following particulars; that they had lost between two and three hundred goats and kids; that they have but eight wells, and no tanks of any description; that from Ras Shoke to Ras Antalou is four days journey; that their principal employment is making mats, and that some of their people are engaged in the seafaring line at Loheia. Thermometer at day light 80°, at night 90°.

"January 10.—We rose at day light, and in the course of an hour

had all ready for departure, but were detained, much against our inclinations, by the loss of a bunch of keys, for which we ransacked the house and baggage in vain; it was past seven, when finding, probably, that we were determined not to go without them, a boy belonging to the village brought them to us, pretending that he had found them on the road. The track this day led over a plain, quite level, but not so stony as on the west side of the island. The wind was blowing light from the N. W. The direction of our march lay to the N. E. on our setting out; the sea was three miles distant on our right, and about two miles out lay the island of Irwee, its extremes bearing from S. E. to east. Off its northern extremity are two trees on the edge of the water, which appeared, at the distance we were, like rocks. We continued a direct course for about two miles and a half, when we saw the high trees about Dobelew, bearing from us due north; we could likewise just distinguish to our right on the horizon the island of Dalcoos. We soon after passed on our left a miserable kind of edifice, which they called Sheik Othman's tomb. The country here made some slight approach towards vegetation. I observed a few trees of a different species of mimosa from what we had hitherto seen, as also a parasitical plant entwining round its branches. We arrived at Dobelew at nine, and computed it to be four miles and a half from Gerbeschid. It appeared to be full as large as Dhalac-el-Kibeer, had a white tomb at the east and west ends, and two smaller ones on the north.

"They conducted us at first to a wretched hovel, from which they had just driven their goats; but, on our expressing dissatisfaction, they found us another somewhat more decent, and, to

compensate for their rudeness, turned a family out of the next habitation, and gave it to us for a cook-room. This was, however, after having been severely reprimanded by the Nayib's servant, who had evidently received very strict orders to provide for our accommodation: he had throughout been of the greatest use to us, and had uniformly paid attention to all our wishes. There was no milk to be procured here, but we got a kid, with some little trouble, and three fowls.

"The weather was so cloudy, that the sun was not visible at twelve; but Captain Court afterwards took a double altitude, to ascertain the latitude. In the evening he went and measured a base from the north-western mosque to a goat-shed half a mile distant, and at the latter station took a set of bearings, having in sight the islands of Irwee, Dalcoos, and Saiel Sezan, and, to the west, the village of Saied-el-Ait. We used our utmost endeavours to procure a boat to go over to Irwee, but in vain. We were informed that there is only a small village on the island, visited by a few fishermen on catamarans; that its coast is low, with here and there a tree upon it; and that the water between it and the nearest point of the coast to Dobelew, is shallow, and full of shoals. We now proposed to the Dola going up to Ras Antalou; but he assured us, that the only practicable means of doing so, would be to go by water from Nokhara, since, on the road from this place, there were neither asses nor camels to be procured, nor people to afford us accommodations of any kind. It was determined, therefore, that we should walk in the morning to a rocky eminence, called Jissoom, which is the highest land in the neighbourhood of Dobelew. Abdallah and the two seamen went down to the sea side in the morning to look for shells;

but the few that they were able to procure were of little value. I urged the Seid to send out some of the fishermen on the same pursuit, and promised to pay them handsomely; but the inhabitants of this village seemed to be as idle as they were poor, and in consequence nothing could be done.

"January 11.—We set out on our proposed expedition at half past six, marching in a direct line for Jissoom, which bore from us N. 35° E. We had advanced about three miles, when we came to a creek of salt water that crossed our road at right angles, which we passed over, the water being shallow. As we proceeded, a herd of deer galloped by us on our right, at no great distance. Having reached Jissoom, Captain Court fixed his theodolite, and took the bearings of all the islands, and principal objects around us, as follows, Dobelew from S. 31° W. to S. 27° West. Irwee from S. 37°, $\frac{3}{4}$ E. to S. 3° W. Saiel Arabie S. 64° E. Dalcoos from S. 86° E. to N. 86$\frac{1}{2}$ E. Saiel Sezan from N. 59° E. to N. 52° E. a distant island from N. 55° to N. 45° E. Dalhedeia N. 21°$\frac{1}{2}$ E. Delgammon or Derghiman, of which there are two, Kibeer and Zeguir from N. 19° E. to N. 30° W. Saiel-el-Ait, the village we had before seen, S. 79° W. We found that the creek we had passed completely insulates Jissoom hill, and the low land around it, forming nearly a circular island about two miles in circumference. On the point of Dhalac bearing N. 38° W. is a village called Ebáru. All around us there appeared to be shoal water as far as the eye could reach.

"Here we measured the distance back to the northern mosque, and arrived at half past ten. The weather cloudy, and thermometer only 82° at noon day. Captain Court took a meridian altitude, and at four p. m. he went out, and, proceeding from the northern

mosque, measured a base to the water's edge, in a line with the northern point of Irwee. He found the space between Ras-el-Shoel and Irwee, which forms what Bruce calls the harbour of Dobelew, filled up with sandy shoals, and small islets, excepting close to Irwee, where there appears to be a channel sufficiently deep for boats of small burthen. Hence the south-end of Irwee makes in one, and seems almost connected, with the main land of Dhalac. Seied-el-Arabie and Seied-el-Sezan were both in sight, but, from some particular effect in the atmosphere, they were not able to distinguish Dalcoos. As far as this chain of islands extends outwards Captain Court is satisfied that the water is shoally, and that no vessel would be safe in attempting a passage within them, except small craft; and it is only a few days ago that two dows were lost on the outside of Irwee, driven in by stress of weather. During Captain Court's absence I endeavoured to get as much information as possible concerning the place, and, for this purpose, one of the elder inhabitants, who had spent his life in piloting vessels to and fro, was brought to me by the Nayib's man. He confirmed to me the names of all the islands we had seen in the morning, which agree most perfectly with what Bruce has called them. He recognised every island, excepting two, mentioned by Bruce, as I named them from the book. Abdel Gaffar's tomb, however, they assured me was on the island of Noorah, off Ras Antalou, where is a small village, and not on Dahalottum, as asserted by Bruce. They say, there are two islands of el-Surat, the largest of which had once wells and inhabitants, but the latter have removed, and the former have been all filled up.

"January 12.—About two o'clock in the morning a heavy

shower of rain fell, which obliged us to remove our cots, on which we had hitherto slept in the open air, into the house for shelter; but the covering of these habitations is so little adapted for keeping out the inclemency of the rainy season, that we could not find even one "snug corner." Captain Court went out at dawn of day, and took a set of bearings from the top of the northern mosque. The water, which we this morning procured, was filled with so thick a sediment, that we were obliged to give up our tea. The well itself we found, on measuring it, to be seven fathom deep, and with only three feet water. This is, I think, the most inhospitable place we have visited. The men were by no means obliging, and seemed to be jealous, or the women were extremely shy, for they evidently kept out of our way as much as possible. The character of the people is probably, in no small degree, affected by their intercourse with Arabia. The shell of a turtle was lying in the yard, about two feet and a half diameter; they speak of them as being very common; by a small piece of the shell which remained, it appeared to be of that species which yields the true tortoise-shell. The stench of dead goats was as unpleasant to us here, as at Gerbeschid. There are more doom-trees than at the other villages, besides many other species of tree.

"At half past nine we quitted this miserable place. Captain Court took an exact account of our bearings, and found Gerbeschid to be, as we computed, only four miles and a half from Dobelew. We saw a covey of partridges on the road, and got to our journey's end by half past ten. Immediately on our arrival at Gerbeschid, we looked out for an eminence, from which we might see some one of the points which Captain Court had taken, and thus

connect the line of bearings: but, after mounting walls and houses in vain, we almost despaired of success, the situation of this village being extremely low, and no rising ground in the neighbourhood. At last, we resorted to the old expedient of ascending to the top of the mosque, an indignity which we found might be always compensated by the gift of a dollar, and here, after piling a triple story of couches, one upon the other, which were procured from the owner of the adjacent house, we gained, most fortunately, a good bearing of a goat-shed, whence Captain Court had taken his last bearings. Hence we likewise saw the cliff, and the high land of the Abyssinian coast, somewhere near Hurtoo. The day was unluckily too cloudy to get any solar observation, which made it the more important that we should get a point of bearing between Gerbeschid and Dhalac el-Kibeer; we therefore determined to wait until morning, and proceed at day-light, when we expected to attain our object, by mounting the cliff. I learned to day, that there were at this time seventeen trankies, from near Muscat, looking out among the islands for pearls, tortoise-shell, wood, or indeed whatever they could pick up; many of these we saw lying off the coast in different directions. Thermometer $82°\frac{1}{4}$.

"January 13.—Left Gerbeschid at half past seven, and reached the cliff in about half an hour, having more spirited asses than usual. We computed the distance to be two miles and an half. Leaving our animals at the bottom, we ascended to the highest point, on which stand the two trees, which were set from Gerbeschid. This cliff is nearly perpendicular, except in one or two places, where loose fragments of rock, that have fallen, form stepping-places, which render the ascent easy. In some parts of the rock are

deep chasms, that appeared almost the work of art. The view from the top fully answered our expectations, and discovered to us, somewhat unexpectedly, a sight of the Panther, an object most particularly interesting to our purposes; it appeared over the point of Dhalac, nearest to Nokhara, on the opposite side of a large salt-water lake, which was distant about three quarters of a mile, and which apparently is deep enough for the largest vessels. We could also just distinguish one of the mausoleums at Nokhara, distant between six and seven miles. We had at the same time in sight, Cape Sarbo, and the island of Howakil, the high peak behind Hurtoo, and the village of Gerbeschid.

" As the surest way of ascertaining the sites of these objects, Captain Court measured a base of eight hundred paces, and took bearings at each end. The land descends, in a sloping line, hence to the lake, round which is a sandy beach. On coming down we observed a few deer, which were very wild, and speedily bounded over the rocks out of sight. The valley, formed by the cliffs, which we passed through a second time to day, seems by far the richest part of the island; it is well sheltered, the soil is good, and there was, even still, a little verdure covering the greater part of it. I also observed three species of shrubs, different from what I had before noted. It is probable that even the small quantity of rain which had fallen, occasioned, in a great degree, the more luxuriant appearance of this valley, or it might be the difference of our feelings, at the times that we passed through it. Two or three species of birds, the plumage of one of which was very beautiful, were seen flying from bush to bush. We arrived at Dhalac-el-Kibeer at half past one. Thermometer 84°. 5'.

CUFIC TOMB-STONE AT DHALAC.

"January 14.—At day light I went with Abdallah and the two Europeans to the northern mosque, for the purpose of getting possession of some of the monumental stones, mentioned in my former account. The best finished inscriptions were engraved on stones, which were too heavy to carry away. I therefore made choice of two of the most perfect, carved in different characters, that were portable, and wrapping them up very carefully, proceeded back to our lodgings, not quite satisfied, I own, with the propriety of what I was about. Our proceedings having been observed, by the time we reached the house a crowd had assembled, among which were several principal inhabitants. I immediately perceived that they were acquainted with what we had been doing, and that they wished to examine the contents of our bags, which we evaded, and got our plunder safe into the yard. The crowd now began to increase, and I heard them debating the matter rather warmly on the outside. Soon afterwards they came into the yard, in a body, with Seied Yusuff and the Nayib's messenger at their head; there were also, among the foremost, the Sheik-el-Belled and the Sheik of the mosque. Abdallah being called, they began a most lamentable complaint against our proceedings, said these stones were sacred to the dead, and that the Nayib had positively forbidden that any of them should be removed. The Nayib's man, however, who was spokesman, said nothing as from himself, but premised every sentence with, "thus do they infer." The Seied Yusuff also (having been previously bribed) kept a becoming silence; so I cut the matter short by telling them, that they might rest assured that I should do nothing except what the Nayib approved; and that I should not think of arguing with them upon the subject, (whom it

did not at all concern,) but would settle the matter with their superior, when we arrived at Massowah. This, I told them, was my determination, and forbad Abdallah to interpret another word on the subject. The only fear now was, that we should not get any animal to carry them away. As soon therefore as tranquillity was a little restored, we took an opportunity of making rather a larger present than we had intended, to the two Sheiks, and distributed the remainder of our tobacco among the lower order. This completely removed their scruples, and they immediately assisted, most cordially, in repacking the sacred spoils, and in fastening them on the back of a camel. It was eleven o'clock before we got away: we saw many deer on the road, and, by accident, caught a doe big with young, that had been previously wounded. She was large, of a light-dun colour, white on the belly and rump, with small black horns, which were circled with rings. Captain Court stopped at the wells to take the meridian altitude, and, at half past one, we were welcomed on board the Panther by all our friends."

This second tour of Mr. Salt through Dhalac, has completely proved that the account of it, as given by Mr. Bruce, is in a great degree false; and leaves it extremely probable, that he never landed on the Island "The three hundred and seventy cisterns, all hewn out of the solid rock," have, after the most minute investigation, been reduced to less than twenty; and of these not one is to be found at Dobelew, where he asserts, as an eye-witness, "that they are neglected, and open to every sort of animal, and half full of the filth that they leave there after drinking and washing in them." If the plan of the island of Dhalac, the harbour of Dobelew, and the surrounding islands, as laid down by that excellent hydro-

CUFIC TOMB-STONE AT DHALAC.

grapher Captain Court, and now given to the public in my chart, be compared with the description of Mr. Bruce, hardly one point of resemblance will be found between the two; and I trust there will be no doubt in the public mind to which the credit ought to be given.

The round harbour of Dobelew, with its narrow entrance, is no where discoverable, and the town itself, instead of being, as he states, three miles S. W. of the harbour, is, in fact, on a parallel with the northern extremity of Irwee, which forms the harbour, and is an island; a circumstance which ought to have been known to him had he actually been on the spot. It is not however with Captain Court only that Mr. Bruce differs; his bearings, as given by himself, are irreconcilable, and, after several attempts, it was found impossible to lay down the islands between Jibbel Teir and Dhalac from his account, which is much to be regretted, as it is improbable that any other traveller will venture through the shoals on the eastern side of the island, when so much safer a passage is afforded on the western.

The account given by Mr. Bruce of the animals drinking out of the cisterns, and washing in them, is evidently untrue, from the construction of them, as described by Mr. Salt, they being arched over, with a hole in the centre.

The impudence ascribed by Mr. Bruce to the women of Dobelew makes me still more doubtful of his having been at that place; since it is hardly probable that they would have totally changed their habits in a period of thirty years, during which time it is evident that their poverty had not diminished.

The errors in Mr. Bruce's account of Dhalac-el-Kibeer, its harbour,

and the numerous tanks on the island, might have been excused, had he stated the circumstances less positively, and given them only as he received them by the report of the inhabitants. In Mr. Salt's first visit to Dhalac-el-Kibeer, he heard from several, that there was a tradition among them of three hundred and sixteen tanks: and this tradition was probably mentioned to Mr. Bruce, and, if given by him as such, would have been justifiable. The same observation will hold good respecting the harbour, which, from his journal, it is evident he could not have seen, and to which he only transfers the information that was given him respecting Nokhara. I can by no means extend the same indulgence to his account of the islands, and their relative bearings. When a person attempts to give geographical information to the public, it is necessary that his information should be accurate; and that he should not give, as certain, a single circumstance, of which he has not positively informed himself. That Mr. Bruce, on the contrary, has erred in many points, and falsified in others, must be clear by a comparison of his own bearings with each other, and of the whole with the chart of Captain Court. I feel him to be the less justifiable on this occasion, as he had it in his power to give a true account of the island, and its dependencies; for his having been at anchor somewhere near Dobelew is proved by his knowledge of the names of the numerous islands in its vicinity, and by his having stated its latitude as 15° 42′ 22″, which is within two miles of its true position, 15°44′.

I dispatched Mr. Maxfield at night with a message to the Nayib, saying that we should be at Massowah the next day. We took a cordial leave of the Dola, and, in consideration of his good conduct

during the survey, gave him several presents, and left a letter, certifying how well he had behaved. The Nayib's man demanded the money for the water in his master's name, and the forty dollars were delivered to him. There had been one thousand skins put on board the boats; we paid for the whole, though some had burst. The water was not quite so good as on our last visit, which was owing to the drought. It was, however, as good as the best at Mocha.

January 15.—By four o'clock it began to blow very fresh from the south. It was full moon, and the tide rose by the lead line near nine feet. We attempted to get up our anchor, but it came home, and we were obliged to let go another, which brought us up. It moderated towards evening; and the wind coming round to the eastward, we got under weigh, and in five hours, were within soundings. After four hours sail we fired a gun, and burnt a blue light as a signal to Mr. Maxfield, and in half an hour a second, which was answered. We stood on till we were met by him in a boat. He brought us safe into harbour, about eleven, to the great astonishment of our pilots. The sea was perfectly smooth as we approached the main land.

January 16.—Our anchor dragged in the night, and a strong breeze from the N. drove us close to the shoal on the N. E. extremity of Massowah. We had all our anchors out, and the weight of them alone saved us, as the ground was too hard for them to lay hold of. It grew more moderate at noon, and before night, the vessel was warped into a place of safety. By agreement we saluted the fort with three guns, which were returned. The Banian came on board, and I gave him a commission from Mr. Pringle to act as broker of the

India Company at Massowah. He informed me the Nayib would be happy to see me, and would receive me at his durbar, but did not wish to return the visit on board the Panther, which, of course, I did not press. There was some mention of the political situation of Massowah, which I did not perfectly understand. Captain Court declined leaving the ship, our party therefore on shore consisted of Mr. Salt, Captain Rudland, and myself. The vessel saluted, as usual, and the Nayib fired three guns on my landing. We were received precisely as on my former visit. I had a similar kelaut; Mr. Salt one that was old, and tarnished. I went to Abou Yusuff's house, where several of the natives paid me visits, whom I treated with coffee and sweetmeats. I was assured of every supply that I wanted.

January 17.—Determining in the evening to visit the Nayib, I ordered two barrels of gunpowder to be brought on shore, one of which I sent to him, as a present in the name of the Bombay Government, the other in my own; at the same time the Banian presented my salaams, and requested that he would permit some of our party to shoot on the morrow, attended by some of his people. The answer I received was, that when he saw me, we would talk over that and other circumstances. Surprised at this equivocal answer, I called the Banian aside, and desired to know what was the meaning of it. He at last told me, that it was to see what present I meant to make him, before he gave his orders. I expressed myself extremely displeased, and told him to inform the Nayib, that I did not consider myself as bound to give him any thing; that I was willing to pay for every thing I had, and wished, out of friendship to him, to induce English ships to come here for provision and water, by which he would reap a very considerable advantage; that

even had a present been necessary, the gunpowder in the morning was more than sufficient, as I knew they valued it at five hundred dollars. I desired him to mention this to the Nayib, and add, that as I did not understand the Arabic language, the business had better be settled through the medium of himself, and my Arab servant Abdallah, and that therefore I would decline visiting him in the evening.

The answer was long, turning much on the attentions I had received from the Nayib, on his wishes to serve me, on his wanting money, as his brothers were importunate to get a portion of what they believed he received, and urging, as a conclusive argument, Captain Keys having given two hundred dollars. This put me into a worse humour. I told the Banian that Captain Keys had in this, as in other things, behaved extremely ill; that it was an act his Government highly disapproved of, and which therefore I could never follow. He said the Nayib knew two hundred dollars would be no object, and that if I requested the Captain to give it, he would comply in a moment. I told him it was out of the question; that I was determined not to give a dollar, nor would the Captain; that some presents I had prepared, which I thought would be acceptable to the Nayib, but that I neither would deliver them, or visit him, till all idea of a present of money was abandoned. He took Abdallah with him, and brought back an answer in the evening, that the Nayib considered me as one of his best friends; that he ever wished to oblige me; that the horses should be ready for the shooting party; but he hoped I would fill his belly. I laughed, and desired to know what would do this. The answer was, two hundred dollars. I asked if this was insisted on; he said, no, I was to

do just as I pleased. On this I dismissed him. Alli Nohri was sent on shore in the course of the day to return to Mocha, as I did not consider it safe to take him with us, after his misconduct at Dhalac. Captain Rudland, Mr. Salt, and Mr. Maxfield, slept at the old residence of Captain Keys; Mr. Macgie, and all our servants, staid with me at Abou Yusuff's. Captain Court, from the difference of conduct in the Nayib, thought it advisable to send six marines on shore as a guard. The air was cool and pleasant the whole night.

January 18.—Captain Rudland, Mr. Salt, Mr. Macgie, my servant, and Pierce, were out by break of day on a shooting excursion: the Nayib's son went with them: Captain Court came on shore to breakfast with me. Soon afterwards the Nayib's servant, who attended Mr. Salt at Dhalac, came with the Banian, and represented, that Alli Nohri had been saying, that I had given him two hundred dollars for the tomb stones mentioned in Mr. Salt's account, and as much to the Dola of Dhalac; that the Nayib was very angry with them, and he begged I would take all the blame on myself. I told him I not only would, but that I considered myself as at liberty to keep them on the sole condition of the Nayib giving his permission; and that if he wished it, I would restore them. This I desired the Banian to tell the Nayib. He also informed me, that Alli Nohri had declared I came to build a fort, and conquer the island, and that other ships were coming.

I felt heartily vexed at having let this fellow go on shore, who had probably excited suspicion and alarm in the breasts of the natives, which it would be almost impossible for me to eradicate, and which would disappoint my well founded hopes, that every thing would go on in the usual amicable way, and that a permanent commercial

arrangement would be formed with the Government of Massowah. I told the Banian I was astonished at the Nayib's giving any credit to such a rascal; and that after my former visit, he ought to have known me better, than to suppose me capable of meditating any thing hostile to him. On the Banian's return, he declared the Nayib did not believe a word that Alli Nohri said, and was perfectly convinced of my friendship; that, however, the stones were not his property, but belonged to the Sultaun of Rome; and consequently he could not give them to me. I replied, I knew too well his connection with Rome, not to laugh at this reason, but he should have them; at the same time I took it very ill, as I could not forget that he offered them to me when I was last here.

Soon afterwards a respectable man made his appearance, and was introduced to me as Vizier of the Nayib. When last here I had heard nothing of such a personage, and now suspected he was an instrument to procure money through another channel. He said he had been to the Nayib, and represented, that it would be a discredit to him, if, after I had brought these stones, I should be obliged to give them up; and that on his advice the Nayib had consented to let me keep them, and I might give him what I pleased. I said I would not, on any pretence, give a single dollar. He replied, the Nayib did not wish it; that he gave up all claims to it, and hoped we were now as good friends as ever. I assured him we were, and that I would visit him on the morrow; in the mean time, as he had acted like a friend, I begged his acceptance of a shawl. I now spoke about trade. He said the Nayib would arrange the duties, and no anchorage should be demanded for any English ship. It was settled that he should come in the evening.

The eldest son of the Nayib, after he returned from the chase, wished to go on board the ship; I therefore went with him. Captain Court showed him the whole, and gave him a few pounds of powder and some balls. I also presented him with a rich piece of kincaub, sufficient for a dress. He was highly pleased, and sent us some fowls in the evening. He was about eighteen years old. His manners were gentle, his figure tall and well proportioned, and his countenance expressive of good nature. His younger brother was to go on board at some other time. He had asked for some powder and ball, saying, that, when last here, I had given him nothing. I told him he should have a shawl, as well as the powder and ball; we were consequently excellent friends. He begged me not to say any thing about it to his brother. I employed myself in cleaning and packing sea shells, which I procured from the children of the town, who collected them in every direction. My European servants and the people belonging to the dow were active in the same pursuit, but, except Cypræa, few of any value are to be had in the harbour. Our sportsmen had great success, and brought home a variety of fine game.

We enjoyed some pheasants and a chevreuil, for dinner, with some French claret purchased from the Americans. Our Dhalac friend, the Nayib's servant, drank several glasses of Madeira, and was perfectly intoxicated. Abou Yusuff would not taste it: he said the other was a soldier, and that all soldiers were allowed wine, but that he was a Sheik, and could not. We laughed most immoderately at his claim to this title, which he had never before mentioned; and declared he was Sheik Sheitan or Sheik Affrit; a joke which, though coming from Christians, he bore with the greatest good humour.

Soon afterwards the Vizier came in, when we instantly cleared the table, took coffee with him, and entered on the subject of the duties. I have given in the Appendix a list of the articles on which the Nayib demands a duty, and the sum demanded, which is in general moderate, though graduated by no regular principle of trade.

Abou Yusuff told me at night that he was in great want of a pair of shawls to give to a friend. I told him I was very happy to hear it, as I was precisely in the same predicament. He and others had advised Pierce not to stir out at night, as Alli Nohri had been trying to excite the people to use him ill for having again turned Christian. We thought it a wise precaution, and he kept close. This day a dow arrived from Jidda belonging to Mocha.

January 19.—Very early in the morning the Nayib's two sons, attended by the Banian, came to me to request, in their father's name, that I would go on board the ship; representing that the Dola of Arkeko, Emir Moosa, who, though a younger brother of the Nayib, was more powerful from his influence with the soldiers, had come over to Massowah to make the Nayib demand money from us for anchorage; that the Nayib was determined not to do it, and that therefore it might probably end in fighting; that if I was safely out of the way, he might do his worst; but that till then, the Nayib would be miserable, lest any thing should happen to me. I assured them I had not the least fear; that I was fully able to defend myself, if their uncle attacked me, which I hardly conceived he would dare to do; and that if the Nayib wished it, I would guard him also. An answer was returned strongly expressive of anxiety for my safety, and begging as a favour that I would go on

board; adding, that every thing I wished should be done for me. On consideration I determined to comply; at the same time stating that it was merely to oblige him, and not out of any fear of the Dola of Arkeko, whose power I heartily despised.

In the course of the day we frequently heard that the Nayib and Dola were disputing violently. As the interference of a subject, however powerful, was fatal to all idea of trade, I determined to bring the business to an issue one way or other; I therefore sent Abdallah to the Dola, with my salaams, adding that I had been given to understand he came over to Massowah with purposes hostile to me; that I had left the shore not out of fear of him, but to oblige the Nayib; that if he had any thing to say to me, he might come on board the ship, or I would send a person to converse with him on shore. Abdallah soon came back with an answer, that he came here for money, and demanded a thousand dollars for the anchorage of the two vessels; that he desired I would send him an answer by the Banian, whether I would pay it or not; for if I did not, he would get it from him. I learned from Abdallah, that on his saying this, there had been a considerable altercation, the Nayib declaring that the Banian had no obligation to pay, and that he had never made, nor would ever make, such a demand from us. The Dola continued, that he would not come on board the ship, nor did he want to see any body from me. The Nayib had called Abdallah on one side, and desired him to say to me, that he wished the English ships of war would take in what they wanted at Dhalac, where he could take care they should have every thing, and not come here, as it made disputes between him and his brother.

I learned from the Banian, that by an agreement with these turbu-

lent relations he paid them half of the duties on merchandise; that when our vessels arrived, the Dola had supposed the Nayib made much money, and demanded a share; nor would he believe, at first, that we gave no money; that the Askaris at Arkeko gained nothing by us, and were therefore equally vexed, and determined to try the experiment whether they could not bully us out of payment for anchorage. The Banian added, that though the Dola had but seventeen armed men with him, he had completely intimidated the Nayib, and had possession of all his power.

I considered the demand of the Dola, that I should pay anchorage, after I had but the evening before settled with the Sovereign of the country that no English ships should ever pay any, as a gross insult, much heightened by the manner in which it was made; I therefore determined to take it up in a strong way. I asked the Banian if he was afraid to deliver any answer I might wish to send: he said, no; and I then directed him to assure the Nayib of my esteem and regard, and my wish to do every thing to serve and oblige him; that his brother had treated me with insolence in making a demand, which he only could have a right to make, and that therefore I was determined to resent it. I sent word to the Dola, that the English ships of war never paid anchorage here or any where else; that at any rate he had no right to demand it; and that if he did not immediately send a man to make an excuse for his insolence, I would sail in the morning for his town of Arkeko, and burn it down to the ground.

The Banian took this threat and brought back for answer, that he would send to Arkeko, to report that the English never paid anchorage, and would inform us in the morning what was their

determination. I sent again to say, I would not wait till morning; that I would have an immediate answer, or would be at Arkeko myself in the morning to settle the business. Soon after the Naqueda of the Dow, Unus Barilla, came on board laughing, and said there had been a violent quarrel between the Nayib and Dola; that the Askari of Massowah had taken part with the former, declaring the English were very good, and ought not to have any demands made on them. It had nearly ended in blows; but at length the whole town being in an uproar, and the very boys taking up stones to pelt the Dola's soldiers, they had retired to their boats on the opposite side of the town, and slipt off unperceived by us.

The Banian soon afterwards arrived, and confirmed the fact. He brought a message from the Dola, that he did not require any money for the anchorage, nor had he the least wish to offend the English. The Nayib sent to say, he had gone to Arkeko to settle every thing; that he would return the next day, and come on board the Panther; till when he begged I would not move. The transaction had now taken the turn I wished; they had tried the experiment of threats, to establish a dangerous precedent, and had failed. I therefore agreed to wait till morning. I was much pleased by a visit from the Nayib's youngest son, which shewed great confidence in us at such a moment. After having been served with sweetmeats and coffee, I gave him a piece of kincaub, and several little articles which he admired. He then asked for some soap, which was of course given to him, and a box to keep his things in. Captain Court also presented him with some powder, which is always a most acceptable gift. Abou Yusuff and

his brother both came on board in the evening. We have had regular land and sea breezes with very fine weather.

January 20.—The Banian came off in the morning, and informed me he had received a letter from the Nayib, declaring that he and the Dola solemnly agreed no anchorage should ever be demanded from English ships; that the English had ever behaved well; that Massowah was theirs to come to whenever they pleased; and that they begged every thing might be friendly between us. The Nayib would come to Massowah when I pleased, and would come on board and settle the duties. I had much conversation with the Banian respecting the political situation of this country, and the probability of danger to any vessel that might come loaded to it. He assured me from himself, that they would certainly be satisfied with the duties, and would do her no injury. He informed me that the Dola was not dependent on his brother, but shared the power with him, though the latter was first in rank; that they divided the duties between them; and that the real cause of the late disputes was a suspicion on the part of the Dola, that the Nayib had concealed the cash he had received from us. Dhalac and other places are the Nayib's private property, in which his brother does not share. The third brother is Sirdar of the Askari. They are first paid out of the duties: the amount is one thousand five hundred dollars per month, and when there is a deficiency the Dola first is obliged to make it good, and then the Nayib; and about this there are frequent hostilities.

The Nayib used to receive his khelaut from Jidda, and still, nominally owns the Sultaun of Rome as sovereign. He is therefore certainly the sovereign of the country, though controlled by the influence of his brother. Something of this kind seems to have been

the case in Bruce's time. Achmet, whom he mentions as the Nayib's nephew and heir, certainly exercised a power in some parts of the country, while his uncle had it in others, and the duties seem to have been shared between them. At the death of Edris, Emir Moosa, his brother, will, by the laws of the country, be Nayib, but the sons of the former will then suceeed, in preference to those of the latter. This custom, which I am told prevails in the other tribes, must frequently give rise to revolutions. The number of soldiers is very inconvenient, as the duties often do not amount to the sum of one thousand five hundred dollars, required for their monthly pay: they are, however, so connected by marriage with the Nayib and his family that it is impossible to reduce them. The Nayib calls them all brothers. The Sirdarship of them is always in the family. The two last years the trade, they say, has decreased, yet we have had a constant succession of dows coming in, and going out, during the whole time we have been here. I assured the Banian that I wished to see the Nayib, and that I was as much his friend as ever. He brought me a present from himself of Abyssinian cloth, and honey; the latter was put up with the wax, was very white, and remarkably good.

The Vizier came off between three and four, to say that he had written for the Nayib, and to procure me a letter from the Dola, declaring that he would make no claims for anchorage of English ships, and that he wished to be at friendship with them. I made, of course, the same professions in reply, and gave him coffee and sweetmeats, as we did to all our guests. He then requested we would give him two pieces of plank; as they were small, he requested a third, which was complied with, and the old gentleman

left us well pleased. We tried the whole day, but without success, to procure fowls; they are chiefly at Arkeko, and as the Banian will not buy them, there is a difficulty in finding others to do it. The Banian came again in the evening, about eight, to say the Nayib was come, and wished me to go and see him: this I most peremptorily refused. He then requested that Abdallah might go, to which I consented, and sent by him to the Nayib eight china dishes, which I heard would be acceptable. After settling our accounts, he gave me another piece of Habesh cloth, and I gave him a shawl. I wrote a letter to Mr. Pringle, stating my ideas respecting the trade of Massowah, and requesting he would never employ Alli Nohri. Abdallah, on his return, brought a letter to me from the Nayib, and another for the Dola of Suakin. My servant and Pierce were out a great part of the day, so also were the dow-boys; they procured a few good Cyprææ, but no others.

January 21.—At four we began to unmoor: at half after six the Nayib's elder son, his brother the Sirdar, the Vizier, Abou Yusuff, and the Banian came on board, as they said, to express the Nayib's anxious desire that I should go away in friendship with him. A question was added, which betrayed their real motive, which was, whether I meant to give any thing else to the Nayib. At first I determined to do so, knowing that he really was tormented for money; but afterwards considered that it would be better, to express some feeling of disapprobation at the difference of treatment that I had received on this my second visit. I therefore called the son and Vizier into the cabin, and assured them that I parted a sincere friend, but that I must feel mortified at being obliged to leave the shore, and could not therefore send a present as a proof of satisfaction; that I

would only send an ivory box of castor, an article here of great value, as a mark of friendship. I gave one, also, to each person of the party. The land breeze and our boats soon cleared us of the harbour, and delivered us from our visitors. The young Hammed (the Nayib's son) seemed to part with regret. Captain Rudland gave him a pair of pistols. His brother got some powder by a private hand.

On maturely considering all that had passed, I was inclined to consider these circumstances as increasing, instead of lessening, the security of Massowah for British ships. They are convinced we will not be imposed on, and yet are willing to pay well for every thing. The Banian assured me the Dola is now of the Nayib's opinion, that it is better to secure a moderate profit, than to lose all by preventing ships from coming there. It is possible that the Nayib had in reality no objection to his brother's trying the experiment of bullying us out of the one thousand dollars, while he should still profess to be our friend, and become a mediator in case of hostility. I learned that the threat of going to Arkeko terrified them beyond measure; so that whatever they meant, the result has been equally good. I warned them that a King's ship came every year to Mocha, and that, if an unprotected vessel should be injured, she would make them repent it. The Ascaris of Arkeko were gaining nothing by us, and therefore cared nothing for us; but there was hardly a family at Massowah who did not derive advantage from our stay, either by collecting shells, bringing fish, &c. for the ship, by labour, or by the presents of the gentlemen. They therefore took our part; and I am convinced that they would never willingly permit an Englishman to be injured.

The two little Abyssinians whom Captain Keys had purchased

at Massowah, and taken to Bombay, had been repurchased by the Government, and sent back by the Panther, to be returned to their native country, if the Nayib should desire it, as a proof that the British would not violate the laws, while in his dominions. On communicating these circumstances to the Nayib, he replied, that this could be settled at our first interview. Affairs took another turn, and the boys were left in our hands; at their own wish they were now entered on the ship's books, and instead of the slavish names of Sidi and Pompey, assumed the more Christian designations of George Habesh, and Harry Gondar. Christians they were born, but of the doctrines of Christianity, or indeed those of any other religion, they had no idea; I therefore placed them under Pierce, to teach them to read and pray.

CHAPTER VI.

Observations on the Periplûs.—Massowah Bay the Bay of Aduli.—Valentia Island, Orine.—Monsieur Gosselin's Theory erroneous.—Asseez, Ptolemais Theron.—Berenice in Foul Bay.—Departure from Massowah.—Arrival at Port Mornington and Wellesley's Islands.—Ras Asseez.—Bother'em Bay.—Arrival at Suakin.—Transactions with the Natives.—Departure from Suakin.

Chart
of the Environs
OF
VALENTIA ISLAND.
British Miles
ALALAOU ISLANDS
DHALAC I.
MISERAS ISLANDS
VALENTIA I.
ANNESLEY BAY
HAZORTE
Hewsted I.
Mazarrow I.
40
41
15
Longitude East from Greenwich

CHAPTER VI.

THE true position of Myos Hormus, at the upper end of the Red Sea, being very doubtful, it seems to me that it would be a more clear method of ascertaining the places mentioned by the author of the Periplûs, to measure his distances from Aduli, which, I think, has been fixed near Massowah by Dr. Vincent, in a most incontrovertible manner.

I most fully agree with this able and learned elucidator of the Periplûs, that the ancient positions are much more accurately to be ascertained by existing circumstances, than by the astronomical observations, which were originally made with very imperfect instruments, and have come down to us with numerous errors and imperfections; and it is for this reason, that I consider the position of Aduli as ascertained; for not a circumstance is mentioned in the Periplûs, as belonging to it, which cannot be discovered in the Bay of Massowah. The Island of Diodôrus, which was separated from the main-land by so narrow a channel as to be fordable at low water, is easily referred to Toualout; while the Orine, to which the merchants retired, on their being plundered in their former residence by the Barbarians, is now satisfactorily ascertained to be Valentia Island, whose numerous hills well intitle it to its ancient name, whose distance of seventeen miles from the coast of Aduli accords with the two hundred stadia mentioned in the Periplûs, and whose embosomed situation in Annesley Bay, explains the hitherto in-

comprehensible description of the Periplûs, that the continent was adjacent to it on both sides; and the assertion of Cosmas, that it was but two miles distant from the main land; an assertion that Dr. Vincent could not reconcile with the two hundred stadia of the Periplûs. The islands called Alalaiou, many in number, small and sandy, still remain a memorial of the accuracy of the original describer, and may be found in Captain Court's chart, surrounding the island of Dhalac. Were any additional evidence necessary to prove that Aduli was situated in the Bay of Massowah, a very strong presumptive argument might be drawn from the fact, that the great export trade of Abyssinia in ivory and rhinoceros' horns, and the imports in European and Indian articles, still continue to find their way through the same passes of the mountains to Massowah, and that the elephants still are, occasionally, but rarely, seen in the neighbourhood of Ras Gedam.

Since my return to England, I have been very much astonished by the singular theory which Monsieur Gosselin has advanced, in his Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens, and by which he has carried the Bay of Aduli to Assab, where the whole coast is covered with low, sandy islands, and reefs of coral, without a single point of resemblance to the description of the Periplûs. M. Gosselin might have been aware that, as it was a journey of only eight days from Aduli to Axum, the latter place could never have been at Assab, a distance of above three hundred miles; neither was it probable that the Romans would have passed so excellent an harbour as Massowah, where a ready communication existed with their chief mart at Axum, by a journey of little more than one hundred miles, and proceed three hundred miles farther, by sea,

to a bad harbour, whence their land journey would also be extended to treble the distance.

The strange assertion of Monsieur Gosselin, that the author of the Periplûs reckoned only eight hundred stadia, from Aduli to the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, has been properly taken notice of by Dr. Vincent. It is indeed difficult to conjecture what could have given rise to the mistake; a mistake, however, which became necessary, when his argument had carried Aduli to Assab, which is within fifty miles of the Straits.

Dr. Vincent conceives that it was the difference of one hundred and twenty-one miles between the distances of seven thousand stadia or seven hundred miles, as given in the Periplûs, and the real distance of five hundred and seventy-nine miles from Berenice to Aduli, that induced Monsieur Gosselin to carry the latter to Assab; and he himself seems to feel a difficulty in reconciling them. It however appears to me, that this may be done by admitting that an Egyptian merchant used Egyptian stadia, and that he calculated the distances from the difference of latitude alone, without bringing to account the longitude, which was run down at the same time, as I think will appear by the following calculations.

From Aduli to Ptolemais Theron is 3000 stadia;

From Ptolemais Theron to Berenice 4000 stadia;

which, at the Egyptian stadium of fifteen to a mile, will make the distance from Aduli to Ptolemais Theron two hundred miles; from Ptolemais Theron to Berenice two hundred and sixty-six miles.

If therefore Aduli be in 15° 36′,

Ptolemais Theron will be 18° 56′,

And Berenice - 23° 22′.

The position of Berenice has been laid down from local circumstances with as much certainty as that of Aduli. It is described by Strabo as situated in the bottom of a bay, which, on account of its numerous shoals and rocks, had been designated ἀκάθαρτος, immundus, and, as being at the extremity of the Thebais or Upper Egypt. The latter observation limits our conjectures to within 23° 30′ and 24°, and the former fixes us in the bottom of a bay which has preserved its name, and among modern navigators is called Foul Bay.

According to D'Anville this is in 23° 15′.
——— Gosselin - - 23° 28′.
——— an English chart 23° 19′.

Though the distances in the Periplûs deserve a greater degree of credit than usual from their being given in words at full length, instead of figures, yet I cannot receive them without some degree of caution, from their being evidently given in round numbers, without any fractional parts, and from a knowledge of the difficulty of measuring distances at sea, without a nicer degree of observation than was probably employed by Egyptian merchants, or is now used by those of our own nation.

I should therefore consider the relative distances between Aduli, Berenice, and Ptolemais Theron, as a more certain guide to the discovery of the latter. The whole distance is five hundred and seventy-nine miles, three sevenths of which, or two hundred forty-six miles, if measured from Aduli on the chart, will exactly reach a peninsula in latitude 18° 24′, of which I shall hereafter have occasion to speak, and where the more valuable data of local circumstances seem to point out the Ptolemais Theron of the Periplûs.

I am well aware that it is impossible to reconcile this conclusion

PORT MORNINGTON
BOTHERHM BAY
Chart of
Port Mornington
BOTHERHM BAY
AND
The Adjacent Islands.
PORT MORNINGTON

with the positive assertion of the ancients, that Ptolemais Theron was in the same parallel as Meroe; but I have before observed, that little credit can be given to the accuracy of their admeasurements; and I feel less alarm in differing from them, and in my placing Ptolemais Theron where I have done, from having the sanction of D'Anville, who has, in defiance of all difficulties, conjectured that it lay between 18° and 18° 30′ N.

We kept about ten miles distant from the shore, which, as we sailed along with a land breeze from the N. W. and afterwards with the sea breeze N. E. by E. appeared low, sandy, and without trees, but was backed by lofty mountains covered with clouds, the soundings gradually deepening from eleven to thirty-five fathom, the bottom mud the whole way. The course of the shore was nearly N. then N. by W. To the eastward was a chain of low islands, with doom-trees on them, distant about five or six miles, leaving a noble and clear channel of fifteen miles. On two of these the pilot informed us that water and goats could be procured. The sea was as smooth as glass. The pilot said we might go on all night, and run in as close as six fathom with safety; as, however, it was our wish to examine the whole coast, we determined to anchor, and about seven steered W. right in for the coast. We were astonished, when in twenty-two fathom, with the white appearance of breakers; when the Captain immediately let go the anchor. The pilots declared that it was only fish, and so it proved; for, soon afterwards, it approached and passed under the vessel. It is singular, that the same circumstance should have been observed by Don Juan de Castro, and should have had the same effect, of inducing him to let go his anchor. He does not account for it, because it happened in the

night, but he mentions, that it cast flames like fire; which confirms the conjecture, that the brilliant appearance of the sea is owing to fish-spawn and animalcula. Don Juan passed this spot on the 20th of February, one month later than I did, but the spawning may probably continue for that period. It was nearly calm the whole night, so that we lost but little by anchoring.

January 22.—We were under sail as soon as Captain Court had taken a set of bearings. The breezes were light, and there was a tide against us. The coast was low, with the lofty mountains at a distance; between them and the sea were occasionally hillocks, some of which might have been thought hills, had it not been for their more lofty neighbours. The coast still kept a northerly direction with very little westing; in sixty miles N. only seventeen west. The soundings as usual, and the chain of islands to the eastward, low, with a few trees, that often had the appearance of ships under sail. We anchored in seven fathom, with a good bottom. About half a mile nearer was a chain of madrapore rocks, with four fathom and a half on them, as Mr. Hardy reported, who was sent with our boat to examine it. A little to the southward was a small port, called by the pilot Mirsa Mombarrick: two dows were in it; a small island is at the entrance. Our pilots say there is no village, but that the natives come down from a little way inland, and that there are water and provisions. A calm, as usual, at night.

January 23.—In the morning I perceived that, immediately on the beach, the whole way we could see, was a strip of bright verdure, though beyond it, all was as barren as usual. The boat was out early to examine the reef. We weighed at seven, but it soon fell calm, and obliged us again to come to an anchor. The boat was sent again to survey the beach beyond the reef. The officers

reported it was hard sand, and it shoaled to two fathom water within half a mile of the shore, when the rocks again began. They were followed by a great number of sharks, some very large. They brought a branch of the tree, which proves to be Mr. Bruce's Rack; it had fruit on it, which Mr. Salt drew. The breeze sprang up about eleven; but our boat was not back till twelve, when we weighed. We again anchored at night, after having made twenty-seven miles, with a strong sea breeze. There was some swell from the N. E. probably owing to the sea being open to the main channel, where the monsoon prevails in all its force. At least there are now no islands in sight to the eastward from the mast head. The coast has changed its appearance; the smaller range of hills are near to the shore. The soundings were to-day irregular, but there was always plenty of water.

January 24.—The sea breeze sprang up earlier, and we were under sail by nine. Our friend Unus Barilla brought us some very fine fish. Inland we could distinguish large groves of trees, and others to the north, on the sea shore. These the pilot says are doom-trees, and that there are also great quantities of the common mimosa. He describes the country as inhabited by Bedowee, and as being a part of the sovereign of Sennaar's dominions. Lions, panthers, and elephants are in great numbers; this may therefore be considered as a part of the great forest, from which Ptolemy Philadelphus procured the latter mentioned animals, and for the convenience of hunting in which, he established the port of Ptolemais Theron. We were at twelve o'clock in latitude 17° 12′, where Mr. Bruce has placed a deep bay, near which, on the projecting point of a headland, Dr. Vincent conjectures Ptolemais Theron was built. I watched

the coast as we passed along, and can positively assert that it was, as usual, low, and free from headlands, without a single projection that could justify Mr. Bruce's chart, or give weight to the consequent conjecture of Dr. Vincent. Towards evening the coast began to run off more to the west, and the soundings were very irregular, from nineteen to thirty-six fathom in a cast, with a bottom, sometimes of mud, and sometimes of coral rock. The swell was greater, and from the S.E. in the same direction as the monsoon on the opposite shore. We anchored about eight in thirteen fathom, mud, but rocky near us. Lest we should drive, we let go our best bower anchor.

January 25.—It rained a short time in the morning, when we were within two miles of the shore, which began to have a bolder appearance. The hillocks were near the shore; beyond them a number of detached conical mountains; and in the back ground the same lofty range that had been constantly visible. On one of the hillocks was a small white Mussulmaun tomb; another was visible seven miles north, close to the sea. Our pilot said they were Turkish, but that at present no inhabitants were there. He called it Mundalow. I did not wish to examine it, as the buildings were evidently modern. On the tops of some of the other hillocks were protuberances, which were either watch-towers in ruins, or rocks; which at our distance it was impossible to distinguish. At ten a remarkable range of hills was in sight, making four pointed tops. At eleven it was clearly seen, N. 55° W. over a low point of land, covered with trees. At half after eleven another tomb was visible on the shore, the skirting of trees having ended. Near the land were several reefs. At twelve the wood again began. The hills abovementioned ended in a very conspicuous point, off which was

a detached sugar-loaf hill, and no high land visible to the northward. The northernmost extremity of the land, the pilots say, is a Ras; but as they have changed the name several times, I shall not record it. We had during the day a brisk monsoon at S. S. E. which carried us at the rate of seven knots an hour, with a heavy following swell. By five we came to an anchor in eight fathom, mud and sand, in a very fine bay, among a cluster of low islands. We had excellent soundings the whole way in, after we had passed the low point of land abovementioned, which is called Aveed, and off which ran a reef about three miles, in a N. E. direction. It forms the south-eastern point of a bay that seems full of shoals, the N. W. side of which is formed by the islands among which we anchored. Here the Assaye led the way; and as we approached the shore, Mr. Maxfield hailed, and told us that his pilots said there was no passage with safety. Our pilots denied this, and went on. There are several passages leading to land-locked bays, from the bay we are in. Many dows were on the outside, when we came in sight, which fled immediately into one of the inner bays, whither I believe our pilot meant to conduct us, had not the point been too far to windward.

January 26.—Very early in the morning many of the dows got out, and passed close by us, having, I suppose, recovered from their fright. Our cutter went off with Abdallah and the pilot to make our compliments to the Dola, and invite him on board; he had also directions to purchase for us fowls, eggs, and any other articles of provision, and to learn what he could respecting the place. He did not return till twelve, when the Dola came with him, a Bedowee; the Sub-dola, a decent well-dressed Arab; and the Sheik,

a respectable old Bedowee, with the curls of his hair incrusted with fat, who brought me a present of three fowls. Their coming at once on board, without any scruple or fear, gave me a favourable impression of their own upright intentions, and showed a strong degree of confidence in us, and a liberal judgment of our motives for visiting this unfrequented shore. No European ship has been here since the time of the Portuguese. We gave them coffee to drink, a present of tobacco, and a frassel of raw coffee. Captain Court obtained from them the names of the hills in sight, and of some of the islands. There are several of these, each under a separate Sheik, but all under a Dola, who is sent from Suakin, not from Massowah, as we were there given to understand. Badour is the name of the village where the Dola resides; it is a miserable little place, one small mosque being the only stone building; the rest are grass huts. It is on a small island, close to the water. There is no trade, except an export of ghee, and some tortoise shell. The dows now come this way from Suakin, Jidda, and Massowah, from fear of the Wahabee. We saw a large drove of cattle on the shore, and learned that there were plenty, as there must be when ghee becomes an article of exportation; but these unfortunately belonged to a Sheik who was absent, and were therefore not to be procured. Our civil Sheik, who visited us, had his cattle at some short distance; we were consequently obliged to wait till next day. Sheep are also in abundance, and poultry: the prices demanded were, however, high; for a bullock they asked seven dollars, but came down to five; fowls were only eight for a dollar; sheep were more reasonable, a fine fat one being procurable for a dollar. We got some eggs in return for a little tobacco. I should, however, observe, that the

Dola said money was little known here, and that Surat cloth would be much more valuable. Unfortunately they chose none but white, and we, on the credit of Mr. Bruce, had laid in blue. We asked what quantity of white cloth would procure a bullock. He said two pieces, which are each worth only a dollar. Had we therefore been in possession of this article, we should have purchased every thing reasonably. There is not a fisherman on the island, and they say, there are no fish near it; a singular fact, which seems corroborated by the bad success of our people, who have hitherto caught only one. Captain Court lost no time in sending Mr. Maxfield with the Assaye into the harbour, directing him to begin the survey of it, and, for the sake of expedition, allowed Mr. Crawford to accompany him.

January 27.—Mr. Salt went on board the Assaye to take views, Captain Court went on the shore nearest to us to measure a base. I was unfortunately confined to the ship by a return of fever, though the fit was not very severe.

January 29.—On the 28th and 29th Captain Court and Mr. Maxfield were actively employed in completing the survey of the harbour, and surrounding land, while Mr. Salt made an accurate drawing of the hills; which, after having from Massowah kept at a distance from the coast, here approach the sea, and rising one above the other, as they retire inland, form a mass of a most irregular outline. The islands which form the north-eastern side of the harbour, and the peninsula which protects it on the north-western side, are chiefly of madrapore rocks. The head land, formed by the peninsula and islands, is by the natives called Ras Akeek; but they use the word generally, without applying it to any particular spot.

It is the Ras Ahehaz of D'Anville. The only entrance for large vessels is at the northern extremity of the harbour, though dows enter at the southern. The passage is rather narrow, but the whole navy of Europe might lie within as in a bason, protected from every wind, in from five to seven fathom, with a bottom free from every danger. The town, which is situated on a larger island within the harbour than any of those that protect it from the sea, is a still more wretched place than Dhalac-el-Kibeer. Water is to be had, which, though not very good, is equal to that at Mocha; and our eyes convinced us that fresh provision might have been obtained, had we possessed the articles necessary for barter.

The harbour itself I immediately determined to name after the Governor-General of India, through whose assistance alone I had been able to pursue my plan of ascertaining the real situation of this unknown part of the coast; I therefore named it Port Mornington, and the islands, which form its barrier against the waves to the north-eastward, Wellesley's Islands. The bay in which we anchored we called Panther Bay.

When it is considered that Port Mornington lies on a most dangerous coast, off which are numerous shoals, low islands, and rocks that render the navigation dangerous, the discovery of it must be allowed to be of great importance. As high as 17° north it appears from the Portuguese, and Sir Home Popham's chart, that the range of coral rocks and sand banks, which run to the eastward of Dhalac, are not at an end; but beyond that degree the sea appears open till 19° north, where the shoals again commence. Port Mornington is therefore accessible without danger at any season of the year, and will afford to any ships not only a secure

asylum, but a supply of water and fresh provisions. I cannot help expressing my astonishment, that, during the continuance of our fleet in this sea, no attempt was made to examine a coast which offered no impediment, and where the Victor's track had plainly demonstrated that a safe passage existed among the islands.

The neglect with which all ancient authors have passed over this, though the best harbour in the Red Sea, is so extraordinary that I know not how to account for it. It is certainly very near the place where the Astaboras is said by Strabo, to mingle a small proportion of its waters with the sea, but from the most accurate inquiries we could trace no vestige of any such circumstance; nor is it probable, that a stream could make its way through the lofty chain of mountains which binds the western shore of the Red Sea. I think that Wellesley's Islands are the six Latomian islands of Strabo, and possibly the harbour itself may be the Sabaiticon Stoma of the same author, since in his description they immediately follow Ptolemais Theron.

On our first arrival we were assured, that no trade was carried on here; but this appeared to be so contradictory to the fact of a great number of dows resorting to it, that we determined to be more particular in our inquiries. We soon perceived that the boats belonging to the dows left their vessels early every morning, went to the main land, and returned at night; but we could discover nothing large that they either took with them, or brought back. At length an old Naqueda paid Mr. Maxfield a visit, and produced a certificate from Admiral Blanket, that he had been employed by him. This led to a more intimate acquaintance, and a more free conversation, but on the subject of trade it was difficult to

get any answer from him. On being asked what so many dows did there, he said they were all Wahabee. On Captain Court's objecting to this, and saying, that they would then have molested him; he only replied, "God is great!" On being pressed, he owned that there was a trade carried on with the Bedowee, and that it was intirely by barter. I know tortoise-shell is obtained here, and I should suspect that gold is the chief article received in return for India goods. Mr. Maxfield wished to go to the main land, but the Naqueda advised him on no account to do so without a guard, as there were several wandering tribes of Arabs in the vicinity. I wished to stay long enough to conciliate them, and open a communication; but this was impossible; and I therefore did not permit Mr. Maxfield to hazard the inconveniences that might attend such an expedition.

January 29.—Our people yesterday liberated Port Mornington from the opprobrium of having no fish in it, for, with a net, they caught an abundance. I have been less fortunate in my conchological pursuits, not having procured a single shell during my stay. The Assaye came out of the harbour early in the morning, and soon after twelve we were under weigh, with a moderate breeze. Immediately on clearing the peninsula we saw three small islands, but the main land retired and formed a deep bay. Our course lay W.N.W. the coast here running off much more westward than usual.

About four o'clock we came up with a headland, which ran a long way into the sea, and which the pilot called Ras Asseez. It at first appeared as an island, from the lowness of the spit of sand which united it to the continent. As I had been induced by

D'Anville's arguments to suppose that Ptolemais Theron lay somewhere near the latitude we now were in, I inquired of the pilot whether he had ever been on shore there, and he assured me he had, but that there were no inhabitants, though the Parsees once possessed the place, and that there was one large tank still remaining. He also said, that though it was not an island, yet that it was cut off from the main land by a ditch, which, at high water, was sometimes nearly full. These circumstances so strongly convinced me that this was Ptolemais Theron, that I should have stopped and landed, had not the vessel, during the time we were conversing, past it for some way. Captain Court was however particularly careful in taking its bearings, that its shape might be correctly laid down.

Asseez is in 18° 24′ N. lat. and in 38° 18′, long. east of Greenwich, and therefore its position agrees with that I have attributed to Ptolemais Theron, in the beginning of this Chapter. I consider, however, the circumstances I have mentioned as forming a much stronger proof of its actually being that place; and I can venture to assert, that no other place exists on the whole coast that will answer the description given us by the ancients, which in many respects is more minute than usual. The peninsula of Port Mornington could alone create a doubt, as it is in nearly the same latitude, and at a distance of only seventeen miles; but this peninsula is much more uniformly elevated above the sea, and has even rocks, which would have been a work of infinite labour to cut through, and could not have been done privately, as we are informed by Strabo the works of Eumedes were executed at Ptolemais Theron. It is also ascertained from the Periplûs, that the settlement of Ptolemy was not a port, and was only approachable by boats, a circumstance that is still the

case at Asseez, but which is contrary to fact at Port Mornington. It seems probable to me that Ptolemy would fix his station for hunting elephants, not at the farthest extremity of the Shumeta or Nubian forest, where elephants were procurable, but at the place nearest to his own dominions, within the limits of the forest; and this would certainly be at Asseez, which gave him an opportunity of hastily, and privately, securing his settlement from any hostile assaults of the people, among whom he was settling himself without their consent. This might indeed induce him to prefer Asseez to Port Mornington; but that he should pass so fine a harbour to go down still further on the coast to a more inconvenient position, seems to be improbable. Port Mornington may have afforded protection to his vessels, though the military station was at Asseez: and it is not impossible, that the latter place may have afforded facilities of embarking the elephants, which the former did not.

Our pilots mentioned as a fact that Cushtan, the district most abounding in elephants, was directly behind Asseez, which, if true, (and as they could not possibly conjecture what answers I wished them to make to my questions, I think there is no reason to doubt it) affords a very sufficient argument why Ptolemy fixed his hunting station there in preference to any other place. I have only to add, that he could not do it much higher up, as they are never seen at Suakin. Asseez is, undoubtedly, the long point of sand which is mentioned by Don Juan de Castro, and is laid down by him in 18° 30′, a trifling error in latitude. It is a singular circumstance, that Pliny states Ptolemais Theron as being five days sail from Aduli, and we were exactly that period in reaching Port Mornington, and

might have easily gone on to Asseez. The ancients probably anchored every night as we did. We anchored as soon as it was dark in ten fathom, mud.

January 30.—As soon as Captain Court had taken his observations we set sail. By ten Ras Howie was in sight. Here a very fine bay opened between it and the main. The Ras is a low spit of sand, partly above water; beyond was a chain of islands. The wind was from the north of east, and without tacking we could not weather it Our pilots much wished us to anchor, and wait for a fair wind, as, they said, there was no anchoring ground after we left this, till we reached Suakin, which we could not do in one day, unless we sailed early in the morning. We, however, remonstrated, and asked if we could not go within the chain of sands and islands. They both said they could not venture to take the ship, as, in one part, there was not above two fathom and a half of water. We then persuaded them to let us tack, and weather the point. This was agreed to; and by twelve we tacked back, being sufficiently to windward. Here we crossed the Assaye. Mr. Maxfield hailed us to say, that his pilot assured him the passage was very safe, having fine anchorage the whole way, and three fathom and a half in the deepest part; that on the outside of the island there was no anchorage, but deep water; that it was impossible to reach Suakin by night; and that even a whole day would hardly be sufficient. On this Captain Court replied, that in consideration of the anchorage he would try the passage; and directed Mr. Maxfield to go ahead, and sound.

Mr. Maxfield had received signals for the purpose of communicating to us every occurrence, such as what water he found, any approaching, or any actual danger: we [illegible]led accordingly for

nearly two hours in a most noble passage, which gradually narrowed and shoaled. Mr. Maxfield made no signal, and we went on till we were in four fathom, when we made a signal to him to inform us in what water he was; but before he could answer we were in three fathom, with islands close to us on each side. No signal appeared from the Assaye, but we perceived that, on a sudden, all her sails were lowered in evident confusion. We were ourselves in but two and a half fathom, and therefore, as soon as we had cleared one of the islands, let go our anchor. The ship instantly swung round against a rock, with only one and a half fathom, and there struck. At this moment our dow, which had been crowding all sail behind us, came up, and Unus leaped overboard and came to us. He then dived, and ascertained the situation of the vessel's bottom, and of the anchor. Our boats sounded around, and we found that we were in a cul-de-sac, with rocks in every direction, even that in which we entered. To add to our alarm, it was apparently high water, and how much the tide might fall we knew not. The only thing in our favour was the perfect smoothness of this salt water lake, which no wind could possibly ruffle. The Captain was active and collected. He instantly began to lighten the vessel by pumping out the salt water which was in the casks; Unus brought his dow along side to take in our guns; our yards and top masts were lowered, and an anchor was carried astern to warp us out. At the earnest request of Captain Court, I and the other gentlemen removed to the Assaye, that he might be more at liberty. My European and other servants staid on board, and assisted the ship's company.

To our good fortune, the tide did not fall quite a foot; the wind

was light; the ship was therefore perfectly manageable, and wore round as she was towed. She with great difficulty cleared another rock; but by four, I had the satisfaction to be hailed, and told that she was safe in a quarter less two fathom, being more than she now drew. By night she was warped further out, and safely anchored in two and a half fathom. I returned at seven to the Panther. Mr. Maxfield had our boats to bring him close to us. Our crew, the Captain assured me, had acted wonderfully well, much better than he could have expected; but of Unus Barilla he spoke in the highest terms of praise. He had rendered every personal service, with a cordiality and friendship that surprised him. He had, without scruple, received the loaded cannon on board his dow, and had come to cook his provisions in ours. He had headed the workmen, had cheered them with singing, and had put up a prayer of thanksgiving when we were in safety. He, in consequence, obtained handsome presents from me, Captain Court, and Captain Rudland. To him in a great measure the safety of the vessel was owing, although probably she might have been saved by sending the guns to the island. This, however, would have been a work of time as well as difficulty, for the water round the island was shallow.

January 31.—Very early in the morning we began our warping, and brought the vessel free of all danger. We then sent off Mr. Maxfield to examine a passage, which all the pilots declared to be the true one, but which Mr. Maxfield's pilot had quitted for the cul-de-sac, where we had so nearly been lost. Mr. Salt visited the island near which we grounded: he procured a species of Orobanche, with a very large yellow bloom, a Stapelia, a Commelina, and a syngenesious plant that eat well as a salad. Several grasses

also grew there. It was singular to find such a variety of plants on a little spot of arid sand. A curious nest, three or four feet in diameter, composed of sticks and madrapore, was found on the ground; it belongs to a very large species of bird that was seen by my servant on another island. Four large eggs were brought me of a fine blue colour.

February 1.—Mr. Maxfield on his return informed us, that the passage for a very considerable distance was good, with from seven to ten fathom; we therefore determined to try it. The wind continued to the N. of E. which made tacking necessary; we, however, got into the true channel before night, and anchored in good ground. The mountains were visible in the evening, which here again come near to the shore. The hills above Suakin were pointed out to us by the pilots.

February 2.—We were under weigh about seven; the wind was fresh from the N. E. so that we could only just lie our course; the sea was perfectly smooth, and it rained a little. The channel was extremely narrow, in some parts not more than a cable's length from shoal to shoal. Mr. Maxfield kept ahead, making signals of eight and ten fathom. About five miles from our anchoring ground we bore up round a point of sand. Unus Barilla had gone on, and sagaciously anchored his dow at the entrance of the narrows, where there is said to be only three fathom: we could not however reach him for the wind; and the pilots determined to keep on for another passage ahead, Mr. Maxfield still leading. He soon came to an anchor, as we did instantly, and when he bore up for us, we learned, that though he was in ten fathom, he found the passage so narrow that he did not like to enter it. It was fortunate he came up to us, for though

his anchor had been down not more than a quarter of an hour, yet it was nearly worn through by the rocks, while we were in strong clay. We now determined to send the boats to examine the passage to windward: Mr. Hardy went in the cutter, Mr. Maxfield in the dow. When they returned, their reports were rather favourable; but as they penetrated only about five miles to windward, and the pilots were positive they could not take the vessel through, with the wind that now blew, and as they said it might continue these twenty days, we were for some time uncertain how to act. We were unwilling to return to Ras Howie, and beat round the outside of the shoals, as we should leave it undecided whether a passage existed within them or not; yet to stay here was impracticable, as we were pressed for time, and had only twenty days water on board. At length Mr. Hardy proposed that he should go off with the dow and cutter, and ascertain the passage the whole way to Suakin. This was approved, and we beat up to the windward extremity of the land-locked harbour, in which we were lying, and which, had it proper and safe entrances, would be one of the finest in the world, being in size about six miles every way, with generally ten fathom, and a good bottom. The passage is, however, unfortunately so complicated, and the sand islands are so alike, that no ship could venture through it without a pilot. We passed right over one shoal not many yards wide, on which there was only three fathom, and another of the same size, which had five. The sea was as smooth as glass, and the weather fine with us; but it rained hard over the lofty mountains of Africa, which, according to Mr. Bruce and D'Anville are of porphyry. I do not know what authority either had for the assertion.

February 3.—Mr. Hardy was gone by four: we saw him quit the large passage, and enter the smaller, which had a bad appearance. The wind has got round to the southward, so it is to be hoped he will find a passage somewhere, as we should have considerable difficulty in beating back to Howie. Mr. Maxfield came on board to breakfast, and informed us that the Assaye had sprung a leak, and made six inches of water in an hour.

February 5.—Mr. Hardy returned in the evening, and reported that he had found no passage through which the Panther could possibly be taken. He had been at Suakin, and had seen the Turkish Dola, from whom he brought as presents to me two bullocks, ten sheep, ten fowls, and a basket of vegetables, which were most acceptable, as our live stock was reduced to a few fowls. A Dola of the Bedowee also resides there, who was considerably alarmed at the report of an English ship's coming, under an idea that she meant to attack the island. He therefore proposed to seize the boat and crew. This indeed would have been a more difficult matter than he supposed, as the seven sailors with Mr. Hardy had musquets and plenty of ball cartridge. The Turkish Dola, however, prevented any thing unpleasant. He assured the Bedowee that he knew the English well, that he had frequently seen their ships at Jidda, and that they never did any harm to any one. They, however, were still uneasy, and said, the English never came before, why should they do so now? At length they swore Unus on the Koran, that all the people in the Panther were good people, and meant no harm to Suakin. This he did willingly, and instantly all was friendship. Mr. Hardy stated our situation, and the Dola sent us two pilots to bring us clear of the dangers. He sent a very

civil message to me, that he would prepare a house for me on shore, and would fire every gun he had in compliment to me, as he knew that the English and the Sultaun of Rome were always friends. They confirm the circumstance of Jidda being besieged, which accounts for their civility. I think, however, that a little caution is necessary. My servant went to look for shells; he procured a few, and one most beautiful fish.

February 6.—During the night two of the Lascars ran away with the jolly boat; they took with them the sails and rudder of the cutter, which, to prevent pursuit, they also cut adrift. Most fortunately it was not far off, and was soon secured by Mr. Maxfield's small boat. The fellows were out of sight from the mast head. We sent Unus direct to Suakin to represent the circumstance, and offer a reward for the boat, which is a serious loss. Our new pilots are most respectable men, and as Mr. Hardy declared that they were perfectly acquainted with every shoal they passed, we had sufficient confidence in them to return by a new route. An island and a shoal formed in one place a very narrow passage, which we had to work through right in the wind's eye, but fortunately we cleared it. The rest of the passage was broad enough for the ship to work tolerably well. It was far preferable to the one we entered by. The pilots expressed their astonishment at any body's having been able to bring a vessel like the Panther into such a place, where a large dow could hardly enter with safety. In the time of the Egyptian trade, this port seems to have been as little known as Port Mornington: it may, however, be the Euangelion Limen of Ptolemy; but without some better authority than his tables, it would be absurd to speak positively on the subject. Don Juan de Castro passed through

the bay, and by the narrow passage, which Mr. Hardy examined in going in the cutter to Suakin. His Marate and Shaback may be sought for in vain, among the windings and mazes of this singular harbour, which presents on the chart such a mass of confusion, that at my particular request Captain Court called it Bother'em Bay. The weather was fine, the wind light, and the sea as smooth as glass: we had eight, nine, and ten fathom till we got into the channel by which we had entered, at about three o'clock, and soon afterwards we came to an anchor.

February 7.—We weighed anchor about six, with a favourable wind to quit the straits, but directly contrary when we had to bear up for Suakin. We continued to tack till three o'clock, when we came to an anchor about four miles E. by N. of Ras Howie, in eleven fathoms, mud and sand: we did this from the goodness of the bottom, lest we should be obliged to let go in a worse, for the wind was fresh, with a considerable degree of swell. We had overfalls during the day, but never less than five fathom. It rained in the evening.

February 8.—It blew so fresh, with rain, that we could not attempt to stir, the wind being right in our teeth. Mr. Maxfield's cable parted; we sent our cutter to heave the anchor by the buoy, but the rope was so rotten that it immediately broke. He let go two small anchors, but they would not hold; we were therefore obliged to give him a hawser, and let him hang to our stern. It moderated in the afternoon, after several heavy showers, when the swell went gradually down, till at night it was perfectly calm.

February 9.—It was nearly calm, but we weighed at daylight in hopes of a fair wind. It freshened gradually till one, when we

were nearly opposite two islands, which the pilot named something so like Hurroo Riot, that I could not help being amused with the resemblance. These islands, they said, were half way from our anchoring ground, yet we had not made above nine miles, and we understood Suakin was a good day's run. There is here good anchorage, and they wanted us to stop; but as there was a favourable breeze, we represented to them the probability of our reaching Suakin, to which they acceded. The clouds hung over the high hills, and perfectly concealed them from our view during the greater part of the day; the pilots therefore were very anxious to come to an anchor about four o'clock, with which we complied, as the water was gradually deepening. We had a good bottom in twenty-four fathom; the Assaye was fastened to us.

February 10.—At seven we weighed anchor, and made sail with a light air from the southward. We passed between some islands, and found good soundings, but with overfalls at very short distances; the water as smooth as glass. We were, in fact, sailing in a channel, formed by a reef and a chain of sand banks; there were also shoals between us and the shore. We were not a little surprised to find excellent anchoring ground within six miles of Suakin, when the water became too deep. We went too quick to get soundings till off the entrance of the passage, which is not sixty fathom wide, but leads to a wider reach, where the pilots insisted on our casting anchor, though at above a mile distance from the town. As they confessed that they had received orders to do it from the Dola, we submitted, and let go an anchor in sixteen fathom, the deepest part of the land-locked bason being nineteen fathom, perfectly free from rock. A small fort was building on a little island to the northward.

We sent Abdallah in the evening with compliments to the two Dolas.

February 11.—In the night a strong gale came on from the north-westward, and overset our anchor into the deepest water. It however struck there, and held us at a few yards distance from the S. easternmost shoal, in not a very pleasant situation. Captain Court and I were both on deck, and I was just returning to my cot when we saw a boat coming down the harbour. It nearly ran foul of us; on being hailed, Abdallah answered, and we found that he had brought us off a bullock as a present from the Dola, and numerous compliments. It blew very fresh all night, and the sea beat very heavy on the outside of the reef and shoal. In the morning the haze was so great, we could hardly distinguish the town; the mountains were perfectly covered.

Two boats came to us at breakfast; one with the pilots; the other contained the son of the Bedowee Dola, who brought a present of sheep and vegetables. This visit gave me great pleasure, as it proved a total change of opinion in our favour, and showed a great confidence in our hospitality, as his father had been the person who proposed detaining Mr. Hardy and the boat's crew. He was a good-looking young man, and handsomely dressed. He assured us of every assistance from his father, who was, he said, the chief of the most considerable tribe of Bedowee in the vicinity. He informed me, that the letter I brought from the Nayib of Massowah was for himself. It was immediately delivered. He read, or pretended to read it, and said it was very well. He sat down to breakfast, and used his spoon properly: he tasted the tea, and liked it very much. Abdallah returned with him to the shore, but

came back soon. He brought me word the Turkish Dola was very angry with the young Dola for having visited me first, who had pleaded, that he only came to get the Nayib's letter, which he had learned I had for him, from a Dow of the Nayib's, that had quitted Massowah since I did. The Turkish Dola sent me word not to receive presents from any body; that he was master here, and would supply the ship with every thing she wanted.

I had sent a message by the young Dola, that I intended to go on shore the next morning to visit the Chiefs, but the Turkish Dola now sent word by Abdallah, that he desired I would not; that the people would all be wanting to give me presents, and to obtain others in return; seeking under that pretence to sell their articles at a higher price than they would otherwise bring; but that he would himself pay me a visit in the evening. I suspected the fact was, that he wished to secure all the presents himself. At night another message came off, that the Bedowee Dola had insisted on coming with him, and that therefore he would not come; but if I chose to pay him a visit on shore, he should be happy to see me. I sent word I certainly would. We gave a salute to the town of three guns in the morning, which was returned. I, Mr. Salt, and Captain Rudland went on the little island. We found no shells. A Salicornia, a Statice, and a species of grass, were the only plants. A few fishermen were at the fort. We procured some fine mullets for a handful of tobacco. The wind was very unpleasant all day, but our anchor held fast. We got several boat-loads of stone from the vicinity of the fort, which we distributed in the hold as additional ballast.

February 12.—The Bedowee Dola's son, Emir Mohammed, came off early in the morning to attend me on shore, and brought us two

bullocks as a present from his uncle, who, (and not his father, as I before understood,) is Emir of the Chief Bedowee tribe in the neighbourhood. Captain Rudland, Mr. Salt, and myself, wore Asiatic dresses; Captain Court was in his uniform. We departed soon after breakfast, under a salute of seventeen guns. On landing, one gun was fired, which shook the mortar from the gateway under which we were passing. Two Janisaries in decent red dresses conducted us to a little plain room, at the upper end of which was placed a common couch of the country, covered with a carpet and two cushions; on the right of this were three chairs, a fourth was soon brought. Opposite was a low stone bench covered with carpet; behind us was the same, both extending the whole length of the building A reverend Arab of sixty, tall, and thin, was presented to us by Emir Mohammed, as his father. The usual compliments passed. After being seated a little time, the Turkish Dola entered, and making a general salaam, seated himself. We paid our compliments through Abdallah, and returned thanks for the pilots he had sent us, and the provisions. He said he was happy to assist the English, who were ever friends of the Sultaun of Rome. Coffee was brought, and nothing interesting passed, till I asked if he had any late news from Misr. He said, yes, very late. That all was now quiet there; that the Turks had got possession of the whole country, having an army of 60,000 men. That the English had entered the Port of Iscandaria with sixty vessels of different descriptions, and had landed soldiers there. He added, that the Beys were quiet, and that there were five Turkish Pachas there. On asking about Jidda, he assured me that 10,000 Turks had liberated Mecca from the Wahabee, and were on their march to Jidda. Yambo also

was under a Turkish Pacha. I made many inquiries, if possible, to detect him in an error, but he answered so correctly as to induce us to believe the account, so far as related to a British force being at Alexandria, and Egypt's being quiet; two most important objects to us, as securing our safe passage through Egypt, and a speedy departure from Alexandria for Europe. It much increased our impatience to reach Cosseir.

After sitting an hour, sherbet, made with honey, was handed about. Afterwards a khelaut was put over my shoulders, which, to my great surprise, was of the most holy colour, green. Such a gift would never have been permitted in Turkey a few years ago. Even the wearing a bit of that colour would have been dangerous to a Christian. It was handsomely lined with ermine. I asked Emir Mahommed where these skins were procured: he said they were not of this country, but that the dresses were sent from Constantinople to be given on public occasions, and that the Dola brought them from Jidda. Captain Court, who sat next me, had a yellow khelaut, lined also with ermine, but old and discoloured. I was surprised at their being so good. The Dola was a dignified man, with good manners. He wore a scarlet cloth dress, lined with blue silk; his attendant officers were in similar dresses; and this uniformity gave an appearance of respectability to the little divan we were seated in. Around the room were hung sabres, matchlocks, European guns, and blunderbusses. Before our departure, he promised to come on board the Panther the next day. His servants escorted us to the water side, and kept off the crowd.

The town is nearly in ruins: two minars give it a handsome appearance at a distance, and the buildings, being white-washed, and

on an elevation, look much better than they really are. It covers the whole of a small island, as it did in the days of De Castro, but the extensive trade, which, according to his account, had rendered it superior to every city he had seen, except Lisbon, has nearly vanished, and instead of numerous ships, unloading their cargoes on every side of the island, into the houses of merchants, I could only perceive a few miserable dows anchored along side of a few wretched houses. The port however still retains all its advantages, and vessels larger than the Panther might anchor close to the island, where there is seven fathom. D'Anville's chart is accurate as to the outline, but he has erred greatly with respect to the depth of water, which is from fifteen to nineteen fathoms the whole way to the town. He has likewise been mistaken in the relative size of the two islands, which is nearly equal, and in its latitude, which, after the Portuguese, he has stated as 19° 20′ N. instead of 19° 4′ 8″.

I believe D'Anville is correct in his supposition, that this was the Soter Limen of Diodôrus, the Theon Soter of Ptolemy, but I think it ill deserves the description he has given of it, as the safest asylum for navigators on this coast. The reefs and shoals that lie off it, in every direction, render an approach to it extremely dangerous, and the narrowness of the mouth makes it almost impracticable to enter it with any, but a leading wind. It is difficult to account for a narrow passage between two lines of coral rock having continued for so long a period free for vessels, without having been filled up, either by a sea constantly breaking on its mouth, after having passed over sand banks, or by the clouds of sand which at one season of the year are borne towards it from the desert. Since the Turks have ceased to have a fleet in the Red Sea, and have

sunk into political insignificance in Arabia, Suakin has been kept from total ruin only by the caravans, which still come annually from the interior of Africa, by Sennaar, to that place, in their way to Mecca. The town itself is all that belongs to the Sublime Porte, and their Dola, or Aga, dares not put his foot on the main land, which belongs to a powerful tribe of Bedowee, whc take their name from the town, and call themselves Suakini. To them, as I have before observed, belongs the country around Port Mornington, and their influence must extend to Macowar, as Emir Mohammed has offered to send a man with us to that place, who, he says, will procure us provisions the whole way, but he at the same time warns us on no account to land ourselves. As we returned to the ship it blew fresh, but as the passage was marked out by buoys, fixed on the sand heads, we met with no accident; what a convenience it would be at Mocha, if the same precaution had been taken by the Government!

February 13.—The weather was much more moderate and cool. The Dola paid us an early visit, and was in high good humour, talking much of his friendship for the English, and claiming an acquaintance with Captain Court, whom, he said, he had seen at Jidda. This, though a mistake, was acquiesced in from prudential motives. I enquired how long he had been at Suakin. He replied, two years; that the appointment was annual, but that frequently the same person was allowed to stay ten years in office—I presume, if he contrives to bribe the Pacha at Jidda, in whose hands is the appointment. I learned from him, that the caravan will set off to-morrow for Sennaar, and will be about twenty-five days on the journey. He said all was quiet there, that the King was dead, and

no one had succeeded, but that the Vizier managed every thing. As he had several people with him, I again asked, if there was any river on any part of this coast. They all positively assured me that there was not, though there was plenty of fresh water at several places. I also enquired respecting ruins on the coast; particularly if any pillars existed: they equally denied knowledge of either; and the Bedowee declared, that if there were any they could not be ignorant of them. The Turkish Dola drank coffee; the old Bedowee eat some sweetmeats, but only just tasted the coffee.

Some of the followers had sat down on one of the couches. The Turk asked why I permitted it; I replied that I could not presume to give any orders to his people when he was by. He however did not order them to remove, nor do I think they would have obeyed; but he said laughing, "they are like the animals I send you on board, goats and sheep, ignorant and stupid, they know no better." He requested permission to have his hookah, which was granted. He declined sherbet, and after a visit of several hours said he wished to have his present, and take his leave. Abdallah put on him a shawl of gold tissue, which is worn as a scarf over the right shoulder, and under the left arm. I also presented him with a turban of the same materials. The Bedowee Dola had a scarf of an inferior quality. He took his leave in much good humour, and was saluted with three guns, as he was on his arrival. We had brought off several loads of stone from the island to use as ballast, but the Dola objected to this, saying he wanted it to finish the fort, as he wished to make the place strong against the Wahabee; the fact was, he wanted to be paid for them. We applied to the young Dola, Emir Mohammed, who said he would send us one thousand stones.

SUAKINI ARAB.

Published May 1809 by William Miller Albemarle Street London.

My servant killed a beautiful flamingo: the under feathers of the wing, black; the rest gradually shading from a fine scarlet to a pure white. It was four feet from the tip of the beak to the extremity of the toe, and about the same from wing's end to wing's end. Abdallah procured us from the town a good vegetable, a Chenopodium, that tasted exactly like spinach. This, the Hibiscus esculentus, and green pumpkins, were all that were procurable.

The people themselves seem civil and good natured; none of them are armed: they wear a piece of white cloth wrapped round their middle, and thrown over the shoulder. In general their figures are very fine, and the expression of their countenances good. They are of a dark copper colour, their hair is somewhat woolly drawn out into points, and dressed with fat, occasionally powdered with red; a piece of wood is stuck through it, nearly horizontally, which they frequently use to disturb any animalcula that bite too hard. It is in shape like a porcupine's quill, and of course polished by the grease. They also use it to separate the hair into ringlets and turn it round the finger. Many had the long hair behind separated by a narrow shaved passage, from the front curly division, which was formed into an oval. They certainly are on the whole a well looking race of people. Their skins are perfectly clear from eruptions of any sort, but are much marked where actual cautery has been applied as a remedy for local disease. We saw great numbers during our stay, as every day strangers came off in the water-boat to view the ship. I have given an etching of a man, who was above six feet high, and had a most singular expression of countenance. The likeness is admirably preserved. It is impossible not to be struck by the resemblance between them and the South

Sea islanders, as drawn in Captain Cook's voyages. Their teeth, which are beautifully white and regular, they constantly clean with a piece of the rack-wood. They wear nothing on the head, which is sufficiently protected from the sun by the mass of wool and grease that covers it.

We get fifteen barrels of water a day, so that we shall be six days in completing our stock: it is good, and tolerably clear. They have both wells and tanks. Fish we buy in abundance and cheap; the mullets are particularly fine: our people are busy, or we might easily catch enough ourselves. Mr. Maxfield's pilot made his escape on shore. We had detained him lest he should breed any more mischief. I recollected that I had two letters given me by Devagé when I was coming hither in the Antelope. I looked them out, and sent them to the people, who immediately came off, and proved to be very respectable men; merchants of course. I learned from them that nothing was brought from the interior of Africa to this place, except slaves, horses, gold, and ivory: in which articles, however, a very considerable trade is carried on.

February 14.—Abdallah, who had been sent on shore for provisions, returned with the water-boat, which arrives regularly about eight. He brought me word, that there had been vehement disputes on shore; that Emir Mohammed told him, he had learned we gave five hundred dollars to the Nayib of Massowah, and that the Bedowee Emirs wanted to come off, with presents, and ask for the same sum. That both Unus and he had inquired whether this was in his letter, and defied him to produce it. He said, no, it was not, but he had been told so; no doubt by Mr. Maxfield's rascally pilot. They declared it was an absolute falshood; that the English

never gave presents of that sort, that they only came here for provisions, and would pay for what they got, but would receive no presents or make returns. The two Dolas and the Emir took our part, and the whole business was amicably adjusted. Three sheep were sent off, but Abdallah told me the Emir said they would be one dollar and a half each. This was evidently an imposition, though they were worth double the price of those we obtained at Massowah. One of the merchants to whom I had letters, was on board; I spoke to him, and he admitted the price was too high, for that a dollar was sufficient for the best, three-fourths for a middling one, and half a dollar for a small one. I said that, at that rate, I would buy for the crew; but if the other price was charged, I should not want half the quantity, as I should only buy for myself. He said, he was a friend of Emir Mohammed, and would speak to him. A brother of Emir Mohammed was on board, to consult Mr. Macgie, who also promised to do the same. Abdallah brought a message from the Emir, that his brother was that day to be married, and requested that when the town guns were fired, we would fire three, which was promised. He also requested a few pounds of sugar-candy, and two candles: the former we sent, the latter we could not spare. Abdallah went on shore. The boys went a shell-hunting on the reefs, and procured some very good ones. The wind varied much in the course of the day. It was once E. The weather was moderate and pleasant.

February 15.—The water-boat and Abdallah came off as usual. He brought two large sheep for a dollar each, and some vegetables, but not sufficient for the ship's company. On enquiring respecting grain, we learned that none was to be had here, except juwarry, and for a hundred weight of that they asked three dollars, no very

pleasant intelligence, as we were short of rice, and other articles; the cock-roaches having eaten much and wasted more. The weather, as usual; wind from the N. E. and N. W. We took on board more stones, having received the requisite permission, on paying seven dollars. I had a letter from the Dola, saying that the pilots who brought us in had in the first instance been promised thirty-five dollars. We had paid them twenty, with which they departed extremely well satisfied; this therefore was too barefaced an imposition to succeed. We laughed at the demand, and refused to pay it.

February 16.—The water came off at eight, and Abdallah brought two large sheep, and a request from the Dola, that we would give him some tobacco. We sent him ten pounds. Unus came off for his letter, and to take his leave, his bargain extending only to this place. We gave him from the Company thirty dollars for his exertions in saving the Panther when aground, with which he was the more delighted, as he had no expectations beyond the presents we had given him that night. We asked if he would hire himself to accompany us as far as Jibbel Macowar, to which place we meant to have pilots; their knowledge of the coast extending no further, as they there strike off for Jidda. He said he had no objection, but that he must consult his crew, who were only hired to Suakin. Many of the men of the water-boat had been very pressing every day for drams. This morning they again made their representations to me, through Abdallah. I told them, that I had been informed Mussulmauns did not drink any thing of that sort, and consequently had not provided myself with a sufficient stock; but that in future, now I had found out my mistake, I

would take care to have plenty. This excited a laugh against the petitioners, and their friends continued to ridicule them till they left the vessel. I should recommend to every person, who means to touch on this coast, to have spirits to spare: all soldiers drink publicly, and many others in private. I need not observe, that, to those who like it, no present is so acceptable. Common white cloth is another useful article for barter. Our tobacco has been of the greatest service, our sweetmeats have also been acceptable to all visitors. We sent Abdallah on shore to procure fowls, even at only four for a dollar, our stock of them being completely exhausted. It is a bad precedent, but they really seem to be scarce. At each place we were told there were plenty at the next, but, on our arrival, we only experienced disappointment. The air was pleasant and cool.

February 17.—The water came off, but Abdallah staid on shore. Mr. Maxfield sent and procured some ghee, and five hundred weight of juwarry, for thirteen dollars. The weather was cloudy, but moderate.

February 18.—It rained hard till ten, when the young Dola came off with several of his friends, and his sick brother, who was rather better. We had a long conversation about Jibbel Macowar, which by Bruce is placed in 24° N. and by others in 21° and a half. They talk of its being as far from hence as Massowah. We cannot ascertain precisely where it is, which we are anxious to do, that we may know what price to pay the pilot. The Emirs offered to hire us one on shore, but we thought it more advisable to have him sent to us, that we might make the bargain ourselves. Unus says, that his seven men ask eight dollars each to go, that he should want

something for himself, and to procure provisions. He will be satisfied with one hundred dollars, which, if Macowar is in 24°, is moderate, in comparison of the price from Mocha hither.

The young Dola is impatient that we should depart, as he will then go with the caravan to Sennaar, which only waits for his being at leisure. He informed me, that he had frequently been this journey, since his father had thought him old enough to have the care of the caravan. I asked him, if the Vizier continued to collect the revenue from the inhabitants of the southern country, as they passed up into the sands; he said he knew of no such thing. I made every possible inquiry, but in vain, he still persevering in his assertion, that no such thing ever took place. I made Abdallah translate to him Bruce's history of the Zimb or Tsaltsalya, but he positively asserted that he had never heard of the animal. As he was extremely free in his communications on every other subject, and had no motive for concealment on this, I cannot attribute to him a wanton and deliberate falshood, merely because Mr. Bruce has asserted the contrary, on whose veracity, I confess, I have lost all dependence. These declarations of Emir Mohammed are confirmed by the testimony of Mr. Brown, who assures me, that, when travelling in Africa, he made the same inquiries of people who had visited Sennaar, and with the same success. I can declare from my own knowledge, that there is no foundation for his assertion that the same migration takes place from Cape Gardafui to the Straits, any more than there is for the idea, that the chain of mountains, which runs parallel to the Red Sea, divides the seasons equally, and that it is fair on one side, while the torrents of rain pour down on the other. This is certainly the case in the peninsula of India, from

which, probably, Mr. Bruce caught the idea. His own travels gave him no opportunity of ascertaining the fact.

The young Dola requested a letter from me to show at Mocha, which he frequently visits in the way of trade. He also hoped we would give him a present, when we settled accounts, for the trouble he had taken. He again drank tea, and praised it.

After his departure the Steward informed the first Lieutenant that there was not a single day's rice on board, although, when we sailed from Bombay on the 1st of December, it was understood that we had a sufficiency for five months. Upon examining the accounts, we found there ought to be one hundred and thirty-three maund, supposing every man had had his full allowance since our departure, which has not been the case. It is too large a quantity to have been consumed or wasted; we therefore must owe the inconvenience to a fraud. The hurry in which the Panther was sent to sea rendered it impossible for Captain Court to look to the stores. We immediately sent to the town to buy all the juwarry that could be got. Our poor Lascars will regret the exchange, but there is no remedy.

We now thought it advisable to examine our other stores, and the result was a discovery that we had only a sufficient quantity of flour left for one week, the cock-roaches having devoured the rest. Fortunately our crew had been served with biscuit for a period ending the 1st of March. This deficiency fell on the white men, and was really alarming. The Captain called them all aft, and stated the discovery: he told them that any grain that could be purchased here, should be bought at any price; that at Cosseir they should have wheat; but that they must make their present

allowance of biscuit last till the 15th of March, by which time he had every reason to hope he should reach that place. To the Lascars he promised juwarry, and fresh meat. The whole were in perfect good humour, and assured him they were satisfied.

February 19.—It blew fresher than usual, with showers. The boat came off with our sheep, water, and vegetables.

We have every reason to rejoice that we made Suakin the day we did: ever since, the wind has been so steady to the northward, that we could not have quitted Bother'em Bay, and our distress there for water and provisions would have been great indeed. It was also fortunate that the northerly winds had blown only at a period when, by our having a complete stock of water to take in, they caused no delay. Their continuance however excited an unpleasant suspicion in my mind, that the monsoon had changed; which Mr. Macgie increased by the information, that he once sailed on the 1st of March from Jidda, and was six weeks in reaching Suez. The delay, however, was in getting through the Straits of Jubal. The natives console me by saying, that this is always a rainy month with them, and that it will probably clear up in a day or two, and a southerly wind set in.

Abdallah came off in the evening, and brought some juwarry. Unus was willing to go, but his men objected. We sent Abdallah back with a message to the Emir, that we should be glad to hire a pilot and a dow; but that if they could not be procured before the 22d, we should on that day sail without them.

February 20.—A much finer day, and moderate. The cutter's crew, with my servant and Pierce, went to collect shells, and brought a good many, some new, but chiefly Cypræa; handsome,

but common. In the evening the Emir, the old pilot, and Unus, came off. Unus still pleaded that his crew would not go. The Emir agreed to let us have a boat of his; and the old pilot said, if we would pay him the fifteen dollars, he was ready to engage. Before we would promise this, we demanded what he asked for pilotage: he said, one hundred and sixty dollars; adding, that he received thirty or forty for a dow. We were amused by the argument, though provoked by the impudence of the demand. The Emir told him he was a fool, and I observed it was so totally out of the question, that I would say nothing more. At length he wished to know what I would give; observing that it was a very large vessel, and a very dangerous passage. I replied, that he seemed to have forgotten his telling me that the way was good to Macowar, and that the size of the vessel was nothing to him, as we did not want him to be answerable for it. That I considered it as worth one-third as much as the pilotage from Mocha; that I would therefore give fifty dollars, and no more; that on the same principle I would give one hundred for a dow. If they did not choose to take that, I would sail without either. The argument lasted a long time: the Emir wished me to give sixty, which I refused, and they went away without any thing being settled; but Unus said apart, that he would settle every thing.

The sheep and vegetables are ready. The Emir wished us to visit him, which I promised to do, if it should be fine weather, and I should be well. He agreed to come on board to-morrow, when every account should be settled. Our water is complete, and Mr. Maxfield has most of his. We have only to stow the gang casks. Unus's nephew, who was the best diver of his crew, came off with

him, and got some presents. Captain Court took bearings for a plan of Suakin harbour.

February 21.—As I had several letters to write, I requested the other gentlemen to pay their visit to the Dola without me. They set off soon after breakfast. On their return, I found that, after visiting Emir Mohammed, they had gone to pay their compliments to the Turkish Dola. He was at first in a very ill humour. The pilot had positively refused to go with us for less than sixty-five dollars: they therefore applied to the Dola to know if he could assist us. He now broke forth, and represented, that we could not expect to hire another pilot, when we had not paid the last all his wages. The Captain repeated to him our reasons; but he positively declared, he had himself hired them for thirty-five dollars. Captain Court assured him, that had the men claimed five hundred on his word, we would have paid them, and that the money should be sent to him on the morrow. He was now in a good humour, and asked for something to make his back strong. This was referred to the Doctor.

Emir Mohammed came on board in the evening with the merchants; all our accounts were settled, which were not very exorbitant. For his own boat he would charge nothing, only the men's hire who came in her. The water was twenty-five skins for a dollar; the bullocks six and seven dollars each; the sheep, a dollar each, and sometimes a little less. All the vegetables were only two dollars. Captain Court and I gave, each of us, letters of recommendation to him, and to Unus. I also wrote to Mr. Pringle in favour of the latter.

Captain Court and I, on mature consideration, determined to

submit to their demands, and pay the hundred dollars for the dow, and sixty-five for the pilot; since, if we did not, it would be out of our power to examine the coast as far as Macowar, which I was extremely anxious to do, both from personal inclination, and a sense of duty. The dangerous state of the Assaye also made a boat desirable; besides that we were unacquainted with the passage among the shoals into the open sea. We therefore notified our change of sentiment to the Dola, who promised that every thing should be ready by to-morrow evening. We were impatient to be gone, as the weather was very fine, and the wind in the middle of the day came round to the east.

February 22.—The pilot and Emir Mohammed came off in the morning with two nephews of the Turkish Dola. They would not drink coffee, which is not permitted till they are fifteen, but they took sweetmeats. I gave the Emir fifty dollars, a turban, and cummurbund, for his exertions. We sent the old Dola a little oil of cinnamon, and fifty pounds of powder. The old pilot agreed to go, and received his money. Unus took his leave with sorrow. He begged a flag, and wanted other articles, which, being unreasonable, were refused. The Emir obtained from us a half-hour sand-glass. On his departure we saluted him with two guns. A dow arrived yesterday from Jidda. I was happy to hear from the Turkish Dola, that she brought a confirmation of the Egyptian news, and that there was a Pacha waiting to pass from Suez to Jidda with a large army. The weather was very mild, and at twelve the wind came round to the eastward, and gave us hopes of a favourable change.

February 23.—The dow came off early in the morning. From the narrowness of the harbour we were obliged to warp, and made

but little way; our crew not being sufficient, and our boats scarcely strong enough to sustain the weight of a large cable. It blew fresher than yesterday, from the N. and N. E.

February 24.—In the night the wind gradually increased to a gale, and we were nearly driven on the southern shoal, by our anchor's falling into the deepest part of the channel: there, however, it held fast. When more moderate, we warped farther, but dragged back, the wind being fresh, and right into the mouth of the harbour. We kept quiet the whole of the afternoon.

February 25.—It blew fresh and adverse in the night, and till the sun rose, when the swell and wind went down. We again began to warp out, but our anchor fell into deep water, and we were within ten feet of the southern shoal. We found, to our cost, that in northerly winds this harbour is a prison. It is too narrow to work in, and too deep to warp out of, with facility. When the winds are from the south, there is a regular land breeze every morning, which obviates all difficulties. The old pilot says, the southerly winds blow here eight months out of the twelve, but never for any length of time without intermission. From all I can learn from different people, who have been in the Red Sea, I believe that there is no season in which the winds blow from one point without changing for a few days; and, in the middle part of the gulf, they may almost be called variable, at least as much so as in the British Channel, where, for nine months in the year, the wind blows from the westward. We have for five weeks had N. E. winds, yet the monsoons of this sea are said to be N. W. and S. E. After a hard day's labour we regained the spot from which we were driven yesterday. It is fortunate for us that we procured at Mocha some native hawsers made of a grass,

with which we cleared the harbour, by fastening them to the beacons raised at the points of the shoals by the pilots of the place. These hawsers are much lighter than the European, and a less boat will consequently carry them out. If Suakin was in the hands of an European power, rings might easily be fixed in these rocks, and the warping out would be no longer difficult. As it is in the hands of the Turks, more has been done than could be expected. On getting out we found anchorage at twenty-five fathom, when in entering we could find no bottom, from the rapidity with which we moved. This is of great importance, as the passage into the harbour is so extremely narrow.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Suakin.—Lent Bay.—Sheik Baroud.—Daroor.—Danger of the Panther among the rocks.—Loss of anchors—Recovery of them.—Salaka.—Mouse-trap Bay.—Gale of wind.—Obliged to return to Mocha.—Observations on Macowar, probably the Berenice Pancrysos of the Ancients.—Observations on Mr. Bruce's supposed Voyage from Cosseir to Macowar.—Conjectures respecting Myos Hormos.—Arrival at Massowah.—Visit to the Island of Valentia.—Return to Mocha.

CHAPTER VII.

FEBRUARY 26.—It was moderate in the morning, with a fine land breeze, when all the dows left the harbour. Unus passed us, making his salaams, with his English colours flying. By nine we were under weigh, accompanied by Mr. Maxfield, the dow, and a smaller boat. The sea breeze did not set in favourably, but held to the N. of N.E; we, of course, made but little way. The channel was very narrow, and our tacks short. About twelve it freshened considerably, and continued to do so till four, when it was due north. The pilot pointed out an anchoring ground, for which we stood; but he changed his mind, and pushed on for another, which we soon found it impossible to reach; and indeed his account of it was not very pleasant: he said it was near the shore, and in forty fathom. It blew very fresh, and the sky promised a gale. Captain Court therefore returned to the first. We had only our stay-sail and mizen set, yet were going five knots an hour. As we neared the shore there were no soundings, till the man in the chains called out four fathom rocks. Excedingly alarmed, we instantly tried to let go the stream anchor with the chain, but it would not run; we then let go the bower, which went. The next heave was ten fathom, mud, and then fourteen, in which we let go the stream anchor. We now found ourselves in a perfeet bason formed by a circle of rocks, over a part of which we had passed. The pilot knew what he was about;

but being rather alarmed, and anxious, he had omitted giving us notice that we should pass such a shallow spot. The entrance is narrow, as not half a cable's length to larboard we found a quarter less one. Mr. Maxfield kept to starboard under bare poles, but came in very fast. He had nothing to fear where we had passed. It blew a gale all night, and we had reason to be thankful that we had safely entered this bason. We were sufficiently protected from the swell, and had excellent holding ground, a fine blue clay; yet never did we run a greater risk than in entering. Not knowing the place, we were obliged to trust to a pilot with whom we could have no communication, except through an interpreter. He was alarmed; the ship was going at the rate of five knots an hour, and the evening was dark; yet, with all this, we were to pass a strait where a mistake of half a cable would have carried us to destruction.

February 27.—It blew too fresh in the morning to heave our anchors. Perceiving that the shore next to us was formed of a parcel of islands covered with trees, a party was sent off to cut some wood. Mr. Salt and my servant went in the boat; they returned at nine. Mr. Salt could find no plants; and he reported that these islands, at low water, are connected with the main land, and that they are only a kind of sunderbunds, composed of the rack tree, with a reef of rocks towards the sea protecting the whole line. My servant shot one of the very large grey birds, that we have often mistaken for natives; it stands nearly six feet upright. By the meridian altitude we made yesterday but seven miles. Though the Panther sails better for the ballast we took in, yet, from her great height above the water, she makes hardly any way against a foul wind,

Had the monsoon set in from the northward, I know not what we should have done. On the next day was to be a new moon, from which we had considerable hopes, as the day had been moderate, and the sky clear.

February 28.—It blew too fresh to stir with safety, as we found by experience; for in trying to get under weigh, our anchor dragged, and we were obliged to let go another. We therefore continued in statû quô, hoping that the change of the moon would yet bring a change of weather.

March 1.—It blew a gale in the night from the N. N. W, so as to oblige us to let go a third anchor, by which we rode safely. It lulled towards morning, and we attempted to get under weigh, though there was a considerable swell. In doing this we drifted to within a quarter of a cable's length of the rock, that has but a quarter less one on it. In the course of the morning we contrived to get an anchor down farther from it. It blew very fresh; but the sky was clear. A fishing boat from Suakin brought us fish yesterday and to day. The fishermen say they will follow us as far as they can; our custom is too valuable to be given up easily.

March 2.—It blew very fresh in the night: the Assaye dragged, and then parted her anchor. Mr. Maxfield let go his last when only in three fathom, rock, at which time there was a very heavy swell from the northward. His situation being dangerous, he fired signal guns of distress. We immediately sent off our cutter with a hawser, and fortunately his vessel rode safe till it was fastened; we then warped her astern of us. It was extremely alarming for us also, since, if the wind had come round two points to the westward, we should in all probability have been driven on the dangerous rock that was so

near us. We had three anchors down, and a fourth ready to let go: fortunately the wind continued in the same point. It was cold all day, and the motion was considerable. Mr. Maxfield came on board to report, that his ship made much more water, and that the whole of her was, he believed, rotten. The pilot also added his share of comfort, by positively asserting that the N. W. monsoon had set in, and that we should have no change of wind. This would have been bad news, as we should have been obliged to go to Jidda to obtain a supply of provisions, and abandon the survey of the coast to Macowar, which I find Bruce positively asserts is in 24° N. and that he was there.

March 3.—It was more moderate during the night, and towards morning quite calm. We took advantage of it to get up two of our anchors, putting down one at a sufficient distance to secure us from the rock, before mentioned. At twelve the wind was from the eastward, but too light for us to venture out at so late an hour. The spring tides are over, and we hope the fine weather will continue till the next, before which time we ought to be safe at Cosseir. The Captain and Mr. Hardy went to examine the Assaye, and found her quite as bad as reported, her timbers being perfectly rotten. They thought that she might be trusted in fine weather, but were satisfied that whenever we met with a change of the monsoon, she must be abandoned. Yet it is but four months since she was purchased by the East India Company's marine officers at Bombay, after having been, as they said, regularly inspected, and reported fit for service.

March 4.—The breeze came off from the land, and we got safe out by seven from our unpleasant station, which we called Lent Bay, having passed the reef in two fathom and a half; soon afterwards we

had no soundings. At twelve, we found no bottom with eighty fathom. The shore was as usual protected by a reef of rocks, and was composed of small islands, covered with the rack-tree. There was another reef to the eastward, leaving a channel about three miles wide. In the evening we had soundings of twenty-seven fathom, mud. We cast anchor, as we supposed, in a similar bottom, but, on sounding, found fourteen fathom, rocks. If a vessel carried very little sail, she might find out a good anchorage; but the ground is so unequal that, when moving fast, there is no certainty that the next throw of the lead may not differ several fathom in depth, and more essentially in the quality of the bottom. The night was moderate.

March 5.—Our stream anchor was entangled among the rocks, and we were obliged to leave it there, after having used every exertion, but in vain, to raise it. The breeze was fine, but hung too much to the northward; the channel was from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide. A whole fleet of dows was in sight, steering northward. We hailed one, and found it was from Mocha, laden with coffee. The pilot intended to have anchored between two of the shoals to the E. where he said there was good bottom, and moderate water, but the breeze came round to the eastward, and freshened; he therefore determined to run for a harbour he pointed out, sanctified by the tomb of Sheik Baroud, who has kindly chosen to be buried on a rising hillock, that marks the northern extremity of a narrow peninsula. Behind this lies a very excellent harbour, free from rocks, in which every danger is visible, and where a vessel may lie perfectly land-locked from every wind. We got in just as it was dark, to our very great satisfaction, as the wind freshened considerably. The

reefs on the outside are visible, and the space between perfectly sufficient for a vessel to pass with safety. The pilot says that five miles north of the harbour there is a communication with the open sea, which appears probable from the great increase of swell.

March 6.—In the morning it blew very fresh, so as to make us rejoice on being so snug. I felt too weak from illness to go on shore, but the Captain and Mr. Salt went to the tomb. It is composed of mats only. Should the British ever form any arrangements for the Red Sea, a tomb might be built of white stone, which would conciliate the natives, and answer as an excellent sea mark. A few plants grow on the peninsula, among these was an Asclepias without any leaves. I procured several very fine shells of the genus Conus, and a Murex, which I have since found to be a new species.

A dow was in the harbour, the master of which our pilot wished to visit, as he said he was a friend, and would procure us provisions from the natives, to whom he was well known. He accordingly went, but brought back word, that the Bedowee were gone up the mountains, and he was therefore unable to procure what he wanted for his own dow, which was filled with Abyssinian slaves for the Jidda market. Suspecting a little the truth of this story, and thinking it possible that he might wish to prevent our having any communication with the natives, lest we should interfere with his market, or raise the price of the necessary supplies, we watched him with a telescope, and at length saw several loaded camels coming to the beach. As the pilot concurred with us in opinion, and thought this friend might get us fresh provision if he pleased, we determined to try what a little threatening would do. Abdallah was therefore dispatched to him, with the pilot to say, if that he did not procure

us some fresh meat, we would take all the provisions he had in his vessel, and leave him to get a supply with the money we would pay him. Abdallah returned with an answer that the camels were going from Suakin to Macowar, and had brought nothing for him; that there really were no animals to be purchased near; but that he had sent off a person to a village at a small distance, to try and purchase sheep there. If he was successful, he would bring them to the point opposite the ship in the morning. He said if we wanted water there was plenty to be had, but that we must send our own vessels to fetch it, for the inhabitants had no skins.

Mirza Sheik Baroud appears to be a modern appellation of this harbour, for it is undoubtedly the Tradate of Don Juan de Castro, though he has laid it down in 19° 50′, instead of 19° 35′ 42″, which is its true position. I have before observed that there was a mistake in the latitude of Suakin as given by D'Anville of about ten miles; he has made an equal error here, by placing his Dradate in 19° 45.″ Though he certainly took his information from De Castro, he corrected the latitude five miles, but he has not done it sufficiently. The narrow passage in which we were sailing, and which, the pilot said, reaches to Macowar, would be impassable for any vessels, if it were not for the numerous small harbours, into which a vessel can run in bad weather. As the sea is perfectly smooth, in consequence of the reef to the eastward keeping off the swell, vessels with oars could always make their way against the strongest monsoon, when the force of the wind in the open channel would be irresistible. If the ancient navigators kept along the shore, which seems probable from the list of promontories, and other land marks, given in Ptolemy's tables, it is singular that no notice has been

taken by Strabo, the author of the Periplûs, or Pliny, of the many harbours which are laid down by D'Anville between Myos Hormos and Ptolemais Theron. There is no ancient name which can with any degree of probability be affixed to Mirza Sheik Baroud.

March 7.—We set sail by day-light with the land breeze, which soon afterwards freshened considerably, and at length set in with a considerable swell from the N. N. E. As the land lay nearly in this direction, we made but little way, having to tack every twenty minutes, and generally missing stays. The pilot told us there was no anchoring, except in rocks, till we reached another harbour, distant twenty miles. At twelve the wind continued steady, and convinced us we could not reach it; we therefore turned about, and got safely into our old birth at Sheik Baroud. We instantly sent Abdallah to the dow to learn if any Bedowee were in the vicinity, and to offer the Naqueda ten dollars as a present, if he would procure us a sufficient supply of sheep or goats, over and above any profit he might make in the purchase; he brought us word that none were to be had here, but if we would send a person with money to Torateit, where our dow, and several others, were at anchor, we might the next day have goats and sheep in return. He undertook to go with our messenger, but we preferred trusting him with the money, having his dow as a security; and accordingly sent him forty dollars, Two men who had seen us at Suakin brought off some rock cod as a present, for which we gave them two dollars, to their great satisfaction. They promised to procure us a supply of fish.

Mr. Maxfield's vessel has made much more water by the exertion of beating to windward. I got some fine shells, and our men caught some rock cod and several sharks.

March 8.—We did not attempt to move. The Captain and the other gentlemen went in the cutter up the bay, which extends considerably inwards, with deep water. The dow man brought us two bullocks, for which he declared he had paid twenty dollars, and seven sheep for eight dollars; the other twelve he wished to keep, as a security for the present; but said, that if we would send him more money, he would procure more provisions. This we did, but desired him not to send it away, as we must have it back if we sailed in the morning.

March 9.—It blew from the west of north early in the morning, and we got under weigh by day-light, as did the dow. We sent the cutter on board, and got back our dollars. The wind gradually came round to the N. E. so that we lay well up shore, and by four o'clock anchored in an open bay, behind which was a harbour called Daroor. We were in ten fathom, mud and clay, but had the reefs very close to us on both sides. The Assaye was at our stern.

March 10.—It blew fresh in the night, but moderating towards morning, we attempted to get under weigh. After getting up one anchor, the other dragged, and obliged us to let go the first again. It came on to blow very fresh from the northward, veering in the middle of the day to the N. E. The swell was great, and we were as much exposed to it as if we had been in the open sea. Captain Court, the other gentlemen, Abdallah, my servant, and the pilot, went up the harbour, and landed on the shore: they spoke to several natives, who were very civil. They gave them tobacco, and, to oblige them, cut some buttons off their coats, which were greatly prized. The Bedowee wished them to go up to a village at some distance; but this was not thought prudent. The pilot asked them to get us some

sheep. One man said he would try, and bring them to the beach if he succeeded. They saw some bullocks, and a great number of camels. My servant killed three flamingoes. We roasted one, and found the breast very good. The harbour is of considerable extent, when the narrow entrance is once passed. This is very short, and lies nearly E. and W., so that the land breeze in the morning will always carry a ship out. It is perfectly land-locked, and has from two to four fathom water, with a mud bottom. Had we been aware of its excellence, we should have run in at first, and not lain tumbling on the outside; but unfortunately the sun was right in our faces, and made it difficult, when we arrived, to distinguish the reefs. This, by its relative latitude with Suakin, should be the Dorho of D'Anville; but the latitude is, as usual, erroneous, being 19° 50′; only five miles more than the latitude he gives to Dradate. Its longitude is 37° 33′. The hills are still extremely high, and line the coast regularly at the distance of a few miles; the intermediate space is flat sand, with a few trees. The beach itself is frequently a sunderbund of rack trees. Some islands in the harbour are completely covered with it. Plenty of dry wood might be picked up along the beach.

March 11.—The night was nearly calm; and in the morning a light breeze from the land made us hasten to get under weigh. It however took from four to six to raise one anchor. On trying to get up the other, the wind headed us, and the anchor dragged. We again let it go, but the weather being extremely fine, we soon after again set to work. Unfortunately one anchor caught hold of the other, and we got close to the southern reef; so close that we could distinguish the beautiful coral of the rocks that threatened us with destruction. The anchors prevented the ship from wearing round

into a channel which opened to the southward, and exposed us to the most imminent danger, as there was not a foot between the vessel's bottom and the rocks, which were there so steep, that had she struck, she would probably have gone over. Captain Court instantly cut both cables, and by the blessing of God the ship wore clear of danger, though without an inch to spare. Had a squall then come off, such as we had experienced just before, the ship and every thing in her must have been lost; and though our lives might have been saved, we should have been left on an inhospitable shore, with no assistance but from the Assaye, who had not three days provisions for us on board. When recovered from our alarm, we found reason sufficient to make us uneasy, as we had only our sheet anchor left. We therefore determined to return into Daroor, and endeavour with the Assaye to recover our two bower anchors: fortunately a buoy was left to one, and a considerable quantity of cable to the other. The wind freshened very considerably, and the Panther was as crank as ever; we therefore determined not to trust to our sheet anchor in a heavy swell, but to run into the harbour. This we did, and found it as smooth as glass. We let go in two fathom, mud, but dropped into three. It blew a gale from the E. of north, so that the mountains were, as usual on such occasions, concealed from our view by clouds of sand. Mr. Maxfield had cast anchor on the outside to be ready to assist in getting up the anchors. Mr. Hardy went off to him with cables, &c. but after ascertaining their position, found it blew too fresh to do any thing, and returned.

We perceived a native on the shore, and sent off for him. He proved to be one of our dow's crew, who informed us, that Emir Mohammed had been up to Torateit, and conceiving that the

monsoon (Shamaul) had set in, and would prevent the dow's coming on, had sent him by land to procure here what provisions we might want. This conduct of Emir Mohammed gave me great pleasure; it was attentive and friendly, and argued well for a future connexion between the natives of the African coast, and the English, if cultivated by those who follow us, and not violated by caprice or tyranny, as has too often been the case. We have done the best we could to leave behind us a good impression of the British character, and, so far as we can judge, have succeeded. I sent the Suakin man on shore, with instructions to persuade, if possible, one of the chief natives to pay us a visit: a few presents may induce him to come off again, in case a vessel should arrive in want of provisions. Mr. Hurst, in the boat of the Assaye, was driven on the reef as he was returning to the vessel, from having fastened a warp to the buoy of our anchor. Fortunately he landed safe with his men. We sent a boat with people to their assistance, who brought them clear of the surf. Mr. Hardy, with the cutter and crew, went to pass the night with the Assaye, to assist her in case of accident, as Mr. Maxfield had imprudently anchored her close to the reef. They got down an anchor for her farther to windward. It blew a perfect gale from the W. of N. in the night. Mr. Hurst and his men slept on board the Panther.

March 12.—It blew too fresh for Mr. Hardy to do any thing with the anchors; he therefore returned on board. We got the Assaye's boat on board, and repaired her. Two natives appeared on the beach; we sent a boat, and one came off. He brought a basket of broiled fish to sell. We requested him to procure some raw, which he said he would do. He was the same man that our

gentlemen had seen when they went on shore. He said he had brought down two sheep yesterday, but as nobody came from the ship, he had taken them back. He expressed no fear or surprise; he told us there was water, but that they had no vessels to bring it in. We gave him a dollar for his fish, and he went off to get more. Captain Rudland and my servant went on the northern shoal in pursuit of a large flight of birds, which were gone before they could land. They walked a considerable way, and saw several natives spearing fish, who retired as they approached. Captain Court went on shore to take the meridian altitude. He made the latitude 19° 48′ 30″. N. The refraction was so great, that it was almost impossible to take a true observation.

The Emir Mohammed's man came on board in the afternoon, with the Sheik of the village, who rode to the water's edge on a very fine camel. A man came down with four sheep to sell, but it was impossible to purchase them, as he even refused two dollars each. The Sheik brought me one as a present. He was a decent looking man, and was armed with a sword. I gave him two dollars and some tobacco, with which he was well satisfied, though they seem to have little knowledge of the value of money. It is extremely vexatious that Mr. Bruce's assertion of blue cloth being preferred by the Bedowee, should have prevented our bringing any white, which would have insured us a ready supply of all we wished. The fisherman came with some very fine mullet. We gave him a dollar, which he asked; he then wanted more: we offered half a dollar, which he objected to, and at length would not have the dollar. The Sheik scolded, but he took it patiently, and insisted on more, saying, what would you do I if did not bring you

fish? you would starve!" We assured him he was under a mistake, though a very natural one for a native of a country, where fish constitutes their chief food, and where it is caught in profusion, and with facility. They have no grain of any kind: milk, and goats, and sheep, are their other provisions. The Sheik promised to assist our native in procuring sheep: the fellow wanted more money, but we objected to giving it till he had procured us something in return. It was rather calmer in the evening, and Mr. Hardy went again on board the Assaye with the boat's crew.

March 13.—Early in the morning the cutter and Assaye set to work with one of the anchors, it being very moderate. One of the Europeans dived in five fathom, and fastened a hawser to the junk of the cable. It was got up with great ease, and the Assaye brought it into the bay, when we had again the pleasure of fastening it to our bows. We saw the fisherman on shore. Pierce went off, and found him at breakfast on broiled fish, with his wife and family. He said he would go and catch us some, as soon as that was over. He sent a sting ray, another species, and four of the ray saw fish. Abdallah caught three new species of fish, the day being very calm. In the evening the Assaye went out again, and returned with our other anchor, which had fallen from among the rocks into the sand, and was got up with the same ease as the first; and before night we had the satisfaction to be in a safe station, with our lost anchors at our bows, and in every respect ready for sea. The man brought us some fish, for which we gave him two dollars. He begged to choose two shining ones, an evident proof of his ignorance of their value as money. Our man came from the village with two sheep, for which he had given four dollars. He restored the rest, saying that he could

procure no more for money, as the natives did not want it; but that with white cloth, we might have procured plenty. I made him take a piece of Lucknow chintz as a present to the Sheik, and desired him to request he would assist us in the purchase of some cattle. The weather was much warmer.

March 14.—It was so fine a morning that we began at four to weigh our sheet anchor, but it stuck so fast that we were not off till seven, leaving our man and money behind. The weather was pleasant all morning, but we were still confined by reefs to the E. and obliged to make short tacks. We were alarmed near one of them by finding ourselves within twenty yards of a sunken rock, with which our pilot was unacquainted. We hove to, and sent an officer in the cutter to sound, who reported that there was only three and four feet water on it. It was not above twice the size of the boat, and no bottom close to it. We accurately ascertained its position, as it is the most dangerous spot we have discovered in the Red Sea. The shore runs N. and even a little easterly. As the wind was from N. by W. to N. E: we did not make much way. We passed a small anchorage among the reefs close to the shore, which the pilot called Aroos, and another which he called Fadja. This is a good harbour, by his account, and lies in 20° 3′ N. It is evidently the Fusha of D'Anville, though with the usual error of latitude, as he has placed it in 20° 15′. The wind towards evening was more favourable, and we ran on in hopes to reach a good harbour called Howie-terie. This is not mentioned by D'Anville, nor by the Portuguese, from whom he copies; which is owing to their having gone on to Arekea, a mile further north, which Don Juan de Castro describes as the most defensible harbour he had entered, and as being above two miles long

and one wide. Nothing can be more accurate than their description of the coast, as rising into hills and tumuli, with the mountains behind. These elevations are of most singular forms, and rise out of the level Tehama in an abrupt manner. During the former part of the day the country was a little wooded, but afterwards it had a most barren appearance. At sun-set the pilot could distinguish none of his marks by which to enter the harbour; we were therefore obliged to make the best choice among evils, and work all night, as there was no possibility of anchoring. By his watch Captain Court regulated the tacks, and we were assisted by a fine moon, and rendered more safe by the calmness of the night. We stood off and on, till twelve, when we lay to, lest we should reach a part of the channel where the pilot said there were sunken rocks. Providentially it was moderate all night, and we met with no accident. In a channel unknown to us, only three miles wide, of which by night the pilot was equally ignorant, with rocks and shoals around us, as far as we could see, our situation was certainly alarming. We all felt it so, and Captain Court never quitted the deck till we lay to, and then only for short intervals. All the crew were kept on deck the whole night

March 15.—We had, as usual, the morning breeze from the land, but towards nine it fell calm. We were among the shoals and rocks, of which the pilot was last night afraid. We passed by a sunken one as bad as that of yesterday: on others, there was sufficient water, and close to them sixteen fathom, hard sand; the next cast, no bottom, seventy fathom. At twelve we were in lat. 20° 11′ 23″; we could see Howie-terie, and by our bearings ascertained that it was in 20° 10′ 38″. Arekea was also in sight, which is erroneously

stated by D'Anville to be in 20° 32′, though its real latitude is 20° 11′; a greater mistake than he has yet made, and for which he cannot blame the original Portuguese authors, who have not given its latitude, but only mentioned its distance from Suakin. Beyond was a lofty mountain which we named Tridactylos, from having at first mistaken it for the Pentadactylos of Pliny: hitherto, however, only three peaks had appeared. It continued calm till two, when a light breeze sprung up from the southward of east. We experienced, during the calm, a current against us, of about a mile an hour; the breeze gradually freshened, and came round to the southward. The passage continued narrow, and very dangerous, from the numerous shoals. We had once soundings in ten fathom, mud, with the shoals so narrow and close, that we clewed up to let go our anchor; but the pilot persuaded us to go on for the anchorage of Salaka, which we reached by five, after passing a bar of rocks in $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathom, with less on either side. When in, we had ten fathom mud, but not sufficient room to swing with safety. The anchorage was open to the southward, but protected by a spit of low sand on the other sides. It was far more dangerous than Lent Bay; but we had no remedy. It blew fresh, with a little rain in the evening from the south.

March 16.—In the night it blew a gale from the south for a short time, and obliged us to let go our sheet anchor. Towards morning the wind came round to the west of south, and we hove up two anchors; but before we could get out, the wind came round to the S. E. and prevented our moving. It was so truly vexatious to see four dows sail by us about eleven, with a fair wind, while we were fast in a pound, that in a splenetic fit I gave it the name of Mouse-trap Bay. Salaka lies in lat. 20° 28′, which differs from D'Anville

about the same number of miles as usual. In the evening the wind came round off shore. I got some dead specimens of very fine shells.

March 17.—It was moderate all night. We swung round with our stern over the rocks in three fathom, and not a hundred yards from us had a quarter less one. It was cloudy and hazy. The old pilot, as well as ourselves, expected from the appearance that we should have a fresh wind; but our situation was so dangerous, from not being able to give the ship a sufficient scope of cable, that Captain Court determined to try to beat to Macowar, which appeared from the mast head to be a fine harbour, distant about ten miles. We had not cleared the rocks half an hour before the gale began to freshen, and by eight blew so hard, as to put an end to all hopes of our reaching Macowar. The shoals were so numerous all around us, that we were in danger every tack, and once were obliged to wear ship to save us from a reef that was but a few yards ahead. To return to Salaka was impossible, and would have been madness had it not been so, as we could expect nothing there but to be driven on the rocks. Captain Court was therefore under the necessity of trying to make Howie-terie, which the pilot said was an excellent port. We had double-reefed topsails close to the cap, yet went six knots, with a very heavy swell. Our old pilot very ably conducted us through a labyrinth of shoals, and by nine we were in a safe channel.

It was a most mortifying circumstance to be driven back, so near the completion of our labours; for at Macowar the open sea commences, and we should have had only the usual difficulties of navigation to contend with. Providence had singularly interfered in

confining us at Salaka while the wind was fair. Had we been less impatient, and rested at Arekea, we should the preceding day have run the whole way with ease. However, I was resigned and satisfied. We had been deterred by no dangers, or inconveniencies, from prosecuting the voyage; we had been for some time without bread; we had not two days flour or rice, and could procure no live stock except sheep, which will not live long on ship board with the provisions we could give them. Our seamen had nothing but juwarry and salt meat, and of the former scarcely sufficient for sixteen days; the spirits were very likely to be out before a fresh supply could be obtained; and, owing to the leaking of our casks, there was not more than three weeks' water on board. The delay of being driven back eighteen miles, with almost a certainty of the Shemaul's continuing to blow against us for some days, made it necessary to consider what place we should look to for supplies. Captain Court suggested that the water and juwarry could be replaced at Suakin, and that we could then go out into the main channel at Howie; but, on considering the deficit of other articles for the crew; that no rice, flour, poultry, or vegetables, could be procured for ourselves; articles, which the shattered state of my own health rendered not luxuries, but necessaries; considering also that the ship was deficient in ballast; and though better from having put her guns in the hold, yet still crank; I determined to return to Mocha, where every thing could be had that she required, and then try to beat up to Cosseir. I was also inclined to this decision, by the dangers we had experienced in Suakin harbour, and the probability, that now the northerly winds were certainly set in, we might be detained there on wretched food, as long as we should be by the additional voyage

to Mocha. I therefore gave the necessary directions to Captain Court. Our dow had come into Salaka the night before: by her we learned that the boy we left at Sheik Baroud had gone on to Macowar. We knew that he would be disappointed, but he had ten dollars to console himself. Our dow did not attempt to move. It blew a very fresh gale, and we reached Sheik Baroud before dark.

It was a very great mortification to me to be thus obliged to abandon my voyage of discovery, at the moment when our difficulties were so nearly ended; for had we once got out into the open sea, we should have been able to run over to Jidda, where supplies could be procured; for this, the Shemaul would have been a fair wind. Every important object has, however, been attained respecting the passage within the shoals, from Suakin to Macowar, a passage which no vessel will probably again attempt, till an extensive trade shall have taken place in the Red Sea, when, probably, the advantages it holds forth of smooth water and occasional land and sea breezes, may cause it to be navigated by small vessels in the adverse monsoon. I think that a vessel with oars would, at such seasons, find it infinitely preferable to the open sea, as was the case with the fleet of Don Stephano de Gama, to the account of whose voyage by Don Juan de Castro I have so frequently had occasion to refer. Had there been any doubt of there being a free communication from this passage to the open sea near to Salaka, after the account of the Portuguese navigators, it would be removed by the track of Captain Court in the Panther cruizer in the year 1795, who approached sufficiently near to the island of Macowar to ascertain its position, and to perceive that the sea was free in its vicinity; thus confirming the assertions

which had been made to us by our friends at Massowah and Suakin. During our unfortunate confinement in Mouse-trap Bay, frequent visits were paid to the mast head, and numerous bearings were taken of the rocky Island of Macowar, and its adjacent harbour. All these so perfectly agreed with the observations made by Captain Court on his former voyage, that I cannot but consider their identity, and consequently their actual position, as sufficiently established. If, hereafter, navigators should use this passage, which among the moderns was first navigated by the Portuguese, and next by myself, they will receive important assistance from the chart of my amiable and able friend Captain Charles Court, to whose indefatigable exertions during a voyage of considerable danger, and perpetual anxiety, in taking bearings, and making every useful nautical observation, the public is indebted for the accurate Chart of the Western Coast of the Red Sea, which I have the pleasure of laying before them. As a tribute of that esteem which I entertained for his private character, and professional abilities, I have called the narrow passage between the shoals from Suakin to Macowar, Court's Passage.

It would have given me particular satisfaction to have examined the port of Macowar, on account of the advantages, which it has over any of those in Court's Passage, from its being accessible to vessels without their entering the shoals. It was invariably represented by the pilots as being an excellent harbour; and that it is one, is confirmed by Don Juan de Castro, who speaks of it under the name of Salaka, for Mouse-trap Bay could never be meant by a port which received the Portuguese fleet. Water is undoubtedly to be procured there, though, in very dry seasons, it is not very good,

and fresh provisions are in abundance. An amicable intercourse with the Bedowee might be established through Emir Mohammed, and the Suakini tribe, by which means, not only supplies might be obtained for any ship, without the risk of entering the dangerous harbour of Jidda, but probably a very considerable trade might be carried on direct with the neighbouring Arab tribes, who are at present supplied with the coarse Indian cloths, which compose their dress, at a very high price, through Suakin, or Jidda.

Macowar becomes a place of much more importance, if Monsieur D'Anville is right in his conjecture of its being near the Alaki of Abulfeda, and the Ollaki of Edresi, described by these authors as a mountain rich in mines of gold and silver.* The conjecture seems more than probable from the evidence adduced by D'Anville of the concurrence of the bearings and distance between Assuan and Salaka, and Assuan and Ollaki, and of the agreement between the position of Salaka, and the mountains which, in the time of the Ptolemies, yielded such great abundance of the precious metals. The similarity of the name must also be considered as no trifling support to his conjecture, since the modern Arabian names are so frequently only corruptions of the classical names given by their authors. If D'Anville is right in his conjecture, and even an unsupported conjecture ought to be received with the greatest deference from such authority, he has also satisfactorily ascertained the position of the Berenice Pancrysos of the Egyptians as being the present Macowar or Salaka of the Arabs. I can in some degree confirm the conjecture of D'Anville by the evidence of the pilots, at a time when they fully expected we should reach Macowar, and

* In my edition of Edresi, by Hartman, I find the name written Alalaki.

should therefore be able to detect any falsity they might advance, that at a little distance from the village in the harbour, were some ruins, and large tanks, that bespoke ancient magnificence. I can also assert that the mountains which, from Port Mornington, have kept at a considerable distance from the shore, here again approach it, a circumstance which confirms the description of the Arabian authors, and the statement of Diodôrus, that the mines were situated on the confines of Egypt, and near to Arabia and Ethiopia, consequently on the shore of the Arabian Gulf.

To the question, why are these valuable mines no longer worked? it would be difficult to give any positive answer. We find by the account of Diodôrus, that it was only by the most violent exertions that the Ptolemies were able to work them; and that so dreadful was the slavery of those, whom force alone had driven to the employment, that death was considered as preferable to such a life. He also represents the veins of gold as running in an irregular manner between the strata of rock. It is probable, therefore, that the difficulty of procuring it increased; and that the heavy hand of power being removed, no people were found who would voluntarily undertake so dreadfully laborious an employment. These mines may however be again worked in some future period, since the science of modern times has so much improved and facilitated the operations of mining; but whether this is a "consummation devoutly to be wished," for the sake of the inhabitants, is, I think, a matter of considerable uncertainty.

Although I was not so fortunate as to reach Macowar, yet I was sufficiently near to it to convince myself, that the accounts I had received at Massowah and Suakin of its actual position, were

perfectly true, and that Mr. Bruce's adventures at, and near it, were complete romances. I confess that I always had some doubts in my mind respecting this voyage from Cosseir, from the absurdity of the account he gives of his taking a prodigious mat sail, distended by the wind, then blowing a gale, in his arms, and yet having one hand at liberty to cut it in pieces with a knife. Nor could I more easily credit his finding at Jibbel Zumrud or Sibergeit, the pits still remaining, " five in number, none of them four feet in diameter, from which the ancients were said to have drawn the emeralds." That five wells should now exist, which have not been worked since the days of the Romans' holding Egypt, a period of thirteen centuries, in a country where the sand is driven about by incessant gales; that he should find a man who had twice before visited these unworked mines situated in a desert country; and, above all, that he should there have found, " nozzles, and some fragments of lamps," still lying on the brink of these wells, which would have been covered with sand by one single Shamaul, or north wester, are circumstances of such extreme improbability, that nothing but the highest character for veracity could induce me to believe the person who narrated them.

Had these been all the objections, Mr. Bruce's friends might have pleaded that there was no positive proof against him. He has however convicted himself, by pretending to give us latitudes. He declares that, by his own observations, Jibbel Zumrud is in lat. 25° 3′ N. when, in fact, it is a place as well known as any part of the Red Sea, and is in 23° 48′. It might be supposed that this is an error of the press, were it not that he has placed the island in the same latitude in his extraordinary chart, of which I shall have to

speak hereafter; and also that the account of his voyage renders a lower latitude impossible. He says, that he sailed from Cosseir with a light air on the 14th of March, and, about twelve on the 15th, was three miles from Jibbel Zumrud. For these twenty-seven hours it is impossible, with a light air, to allow him more than a degree of latitude, which, with the addition of the longitude, would amount to seventy miles. Besides, on his return, with a strong gale, Jibbel Zumrud was on his lee bow at day light, and he arrived before sun-set at Cosseir, having run the same distance in eleven hours, which occupied twenty-seven hours with a light air; consequently the distance could not be more than seventy miles. D'Anville seems to have led him into the mistake, who places, not the Island of Emeralds, but Maaden-el-Zumrud, or the emerald mines, in 24° 45′.

Mr. Bruce departed from Jibbel Zumrud on the 16th at three in the afternoon, and on the 17th at twelve he was, as he says, four miles north of an island called Macowar, which he found to be in lat. 24° 2′ N. The asserted position of this island cannot be owing to any error of the press, not only for the same reason, of his having given the run of a degree in the twenty-one hours, but also from his stating that it lies off the celebrated Ras-el-Anf, or Cape of the Nose, where, he rightly observes, that "the land, after running in a direction nearly N. W. and S. E. turns round in the shape of a large promontory, and changes its direction to N. E. and S. W". It is evident that there is an island in the position he has given to Macowar, which is by mistake called Emerald Island in Sir Home Popham's chart, but is in fact the Kornaka of Don Juan de Castro, while the real Jibbel Zumrud is placed in its proper

position, but is called St. John's island. Mr. Bruce says, that Macowar is the place, " to which the coasting vessels from Massowah and Suakin, which are bound to Jidda during the strength of the summer monsoon, stand close in shore down the coast of Abyssinia." He adds, " that arrived at this island, they set their prow towards the opposite shore, and cross the channel in one night to the coast of Arabia, being nearly before the wind;" and he finishes the paragraph by the modest assertion, that " the track of this extraordinary navigation is marked on the map, and is so well verified, that no ship-master need doubt it." Not one word of this narrative can be made to agree with the islands actually in the vicinity of Ras-el-Anf; nor could any thing be more absurd than to suppose, that the dows would beat against a contrary monsoon as high as 24° 2′ N.; when they would have a fair wind for the port they were bound to, Jidda, when in lat. 20° 38′ N. That the entire description of the island, and the plan of starting from it for Jidda, is perfectly true, when referred to the real Macowar, I can, from my own information, and the evidence of the pilots, most positively assert; and the declarations of the natives are strongly corroborated by their total ignorance of the western coast above Macowar. No pilot could be found at Massowah, or Suakin, who would undertake to carry the Panther into Foul Bay, where I was particularly anxious to go, and look for Berenice, though they all knew the way as far as lat. 20° 38′.

I think it clear from the above observations, that Mr. Bruce has represented himself, in the first place, as visiting an island called Jibbel Zumrud, in lat. 25° 3′ N. though in fact, that island lies in 23° 48′, and afterwards as reaching another island, Macowar, in 24° 2′ N. which, in fact, lies in 20° 38′.

I think it appears equally clear that it was impossible for him to have made a voyage from Cosseir to the real Macowar, a distance of nearly four hundred miles, in the period he allows himself, from the 14th of March to the 17th, and consequently that he never did see that place, although his description of it, and also his assertion that the Arabs there quit the coast of Africa to strike off for Jidda, are both accurate.

I think it impossible to account for these errors in any other way than by considering the whole voyage as an episodical fiction compiled from the accounts of other navigators, and the information he might pick up at Jidda respecting the course of the Arab navigation; an idea which I strongly entertained on the spot, and which has been confirmed, since my return, by the observation first made by an ingenious but anonymous writer in the Monthly Magazine, that of twenty charts or drawings taken by Mr. Bruce's assistant, Luigi Balugani, in the Red Sea, not one relates to the pretended voyage from Cosseir to Jibbel Zumrud. I am surprised that the same writer did not take notice of the equally remarkable circumstance, that not a single observation of latitude is to be found in Mr. Bruce's list, as taken either at Jibbel Zumrud, or Macowar, or even the island which he named after himself, though he has asserted in his voyage, that he ascertained the position of these places by the meridian altitude, and has actually given observations made at Cosseir, both before his departure, and immediately after his return to that place.

The only celebrated port of antiquity, that remains to be ascertained on the western shore of the Red Sea, is Myos Hormos, which is mentioned by the Periplûs, as being one thousand eight hundred

stadia, from Berenice. These, if considered as Egyptian stadia, will make one hundred and twenty miles.

Berenice is nearly in latitude 23° 23′ N. If therefore we calculate, as in the former case, by latitude alone, Myos Hormos must be in 25° 23′ N. which brings us to that part of the coast where Don Juan de Castro has laid down two ports, close to each other, which he calls Gualibo, and Tuna; but if we measure off the distance on the chart, we shall find that, owing to the promontory of Ras-el-Anf extending so far to the east, the one hundred and twenty miles will only bring us to about latitude 25° N. I have before had occasion to observe that less dependance can be placed on the distances, as given in round numbers in the Periplûs, than on local circumstances mentioned in that work, or in the works of others, on the same subject. De Castro is the only modern, who has visited and described the coast from Foul Bay to Cosseir, and we must therefore refer to him, to see if there is any place, within a few miles of the latitude, that probably belongs to Myos Hormos, which will answer to the description given by the ancients of that place. It is stated by the author of the Periplûs, as being λιμὴν, a port, and not an open road, and as being on the extreme border of Egypt. Strabo calls it "λιμένα μέγαν," a large port, with a winding entrance, and having three islands lying off it. Diodôrus speaks of a port, which he calls Aphrodites, but which seems to be the same as Myos Hormos, from the description of its being a port with a winding entrance, and as being placed at the foot of a mountain of red rock, which shone so as to hurt the eyes; a circumstance which, by Agatharchides, is attributed to Myos Hormos, who positively declares, that they are the same port, though differently called at different times.

Such are the accounts we have received of the ancient port of Myos Hormos; and it is a coincidence of circumstances that could hardly have been expected to be noted by a traveller who did not direct his attention particularly to a comparison of what was before his eyes, with the description of former navigators, that Don Juan de Castro describes a port called Shakara as encompassed by a very red hill, and near to it another " very capacious and noted harbour, called Shawna, where, according to the report of the Moors and inhabitants, there stood formerly a famous city of the gentiles." The latter place is laid down by De la Rochette in 24° 53′, and the former in 25° 8′, either of which would sufficiently agree with the distance from Berenice as given in the Periplûs. As the red hill is represented as being a very large one, it might be supposed to reach sufficiently near to Shawna to have been described by the ancients, as a mark of that port, where are probably existing the remains of ancient magnificence which have given rise to the Moorish account. But if this difficulty were removed, the circumstance of the three islands is still remaining to cause a doubt of Shawna being Myos Hormos. I can only observe, that at present there is no proof that three small islands do not exist, opposite to their harbours, and that we know of no other that will answer the description given. Strabo and Diodôrus both observe, that two of these islands were covered with olive trees, and the third was frequented by sea birds. This description is so positive that I cannot admit the supposition, that there might be other islands which were overlooked; yet this would be the case were Myos Hormos placed opposite to the Jaffateen Islands. A still stronger objection to this conjecture is, that the coast there is perfectly open, and cannot

therefore be considered as a port with a winding entrance. There is indeed a harbour formed by the cluster of the Jaffateen Islands, but the word ὑπέρκεινται of Diodôrus, and πρόκεισθαι of Strabo, evidently prove, that these islands lay off the harbour, and were not a component part of it.

As the coast from Ras-el-Anf to Cosseir is perfectly free from hidden dangers, it is to be hoped that some future navigator will find leisure to examine the numerous harbours which, according to Don Juan de Castro, lie within that space. If an ancient town actually exist, water must no doubt be found near it; and it is probable that there is a passage through the mountains, from the name of one of the ports, Sharm-el-Kiman, which is translated "the opening of the mountain." If so, how valuable would a port be, to which vessels could resort, for such supplies as the Bedowee can afford, instead of being obliged to lie in a miserable roadstead at Cosseir, unprotected from the S. E. monsoon, and even where water itself is unattainable, except of a brackish quality!

I submit the preceding observations, on the ancient geography of the Red Sea, to the public, with some diffidence, because the view I have been induced to take of the subject, chiefly from observations made on the spot, differs, on some points, from the judgment formed by Dr. Vincent, after a mature consideration of the information handed down to us by ancient authors; but as in the position of the Opsian Bay, I have been already flattered by the sanction of this candid and learned annotator on the Periplûs, I feel perfectly convinced that I am affording the highest gratification to his mind, in endeavouring, by local observations, to elucidate the work he has investigated with so much acuteness, although my conclusions may, on some points, differ from his.

March 18.—We were clear of Mirza Sheik Baroud early in the morning. The wind was more moderate, but a great swell followed us. At twelve we were off Suakin, and sent our old pilot on shore in the cutter. We gave him ten dollars, and three pieces of Surat cloth, being satisfied of his merit, and of his having served us faithfully. Now that we know the dangers of the navigation, his demand of sixty-five dollars does not appear so unreasonable. Before dark we got a sight of Hurroo Riot Island, which ends the narrow passage between the shoals. We took a new departure from it, and sailed on all night.

March 19.—At daylight we were off Akeek. The wind was more moderate, with a land breeze in the morning, and a sea breeze after twelve o'clock.

March 20.—A continuation of moderate breezes and pleasant weather during the whole day.

March 21.—We lay to after nine o'clock last night, as we were by our reckoning ten miles from Massowah; but a current carried us beyond it. The morning was fine, but at eight it began to rain, with a strong gale from the N. W. It cleared up about ten, and we got into Massowah harbour. I sent Abdallah on shore to make my salaams to the Nayib, and to bring off the Banian. The Nayib returned civil messages, and the Banian came on board. In the course of the day we procured some fowls, but no goats, sheep, or bullocks were to be had without delay, as, the rains having failed, the scarcity was great, and the remaining stock had been sent up the country; the tanks were completely exhausted, and the inhabitants were obliged to drink the Arkeko water, which is brackish.

The Nayib sent at night a present of Habesh cotton cloth, and

honey, with a message that his daughter was going to be married, who was also my daughter, as he and I were one. This was a broad hint for a present, which I could not evade; I therefore sent the bride a piece of gold tissue, and some Lucknow chintz The native pilots have so positively assured us that the N. W. monsoon has set in, and our own experience gives such weight to their report, that we have been induced to abandon our intention of trying to reach Suez during the present season, and have adopted in its stead a determination to open a communication with the Court of Abyssinia, and if possible, to send some of our party up into the country. The Banian had frequently mentioned to me that the Ras Welleta Selassé was anxious to hear from me; I therefore delivered him a message for that chief, expressive of my wishes, which I requested him to put on paper, and send up by a special messenger to Tigré, for which I agreed to pay him fourteen dollars, he covenanting that the man should be back at Massowah with the answer in fifteen days. He now spoke less cautiously of the political situation of Massowah, and acknowledged that it lies at the mercy of the King of Abyssinia, and could offer no resistance were he to choose to attack it, as his most forcible instrument would be starvation, by cutting off the supplies from the upper country. In fact, Massowah is only of importance from being the port of Abyssinia, and were the trade to be turned into any other channel, it would sink into insignificance. I found that my friend the Nayib had, after my departure, made Currumchund pay sixty dollars for the cattle and sheep, which he had sent me as presents during my stay: he, of course, was repaid the whole, as it was not dearer than they would have cost had they been supposed to be purchased

instead of given. We were told that there were accounts in the neighbourhood, of our boat having been broken on the shore, between this place and Akeek, but that the Lascars had escaped. We could not learn the truth of this. If they are caught by the Bedowee they will save nothing but their lives, if they are even so fortunate as to do that. The natives sold us fish for empty bottles. My servant went a shooting on the point which covers the north side of the harbour, and in a few hours killed six antelopes, and three hares. The night was sultry.

March 22.—The Banian came again in the morning to take his leave. We sailed for Mocha at seven, but the wind was so fresh from the E. that we could not weather the N. extreme of Valentia shoal; we therefore kept to the W. of it, in a very fine bay, about five miles wide from the Island to Ras Gedam. The soundings the whole way were from thirty to forty fathom, mud. Captain Court gave it the name of Annesley Bay. At half after eight we anchored close to the western side of the island in twelve fathom. An officer in the boat went out to sound, and discovered close to us a reef of rocks, which run off from the shore: fortunately the wind kept to the E. and we were safe till morning. The Assaye had gone up the bay, close to the main land, and was not in sight.

March 23.—At five we weighed to get into safer anchorage. We found soundings and good bottom as we went S. along shore. We tried to pass through the channel, made by the S. extremity of the island and the main land, intending to anchor off the village, as the Antelope had done. The passage is free from all hidden danger, and sufficiently wide: two rocks are in the centre, but rise considerably above water. The wind was so fresh from the N. E. that we

could make no way, and therefore came to an anchor under shelter of the S.W. point of the island. Soon afterwards Mr. Maxfield joined us. He reported that he had been nearly to the extremity of the western part of Annesley Bay; that the water gradually shoaled to four fathom, mud, when he had come to an anchor. It is certainly a noble bay from its size, from the goodness of its bottom, and from its being perfectly protected from every wind that blows in this sea. It is not surprising that the ancients preferred anchoring in it to the narrow harbour of Massowah, where the ground is hard. Though the channel between the island and the main land is sufficiently deep to prevent its being forded, yet it is so narrow, that a communication is kept up with the greatest ease. The trade that comes down from Abyssinia might be easily brought to the bottom of the bay at the southern extremity of Gedam, instead of passing along the side of that mountain. The distance would be less, as Dixan, the first town of Abyssinia, lies nearly due south of Massowah, and the facilities of embarkation would be equally good. I have no doubt that the trading inhabitants of Orine brought all their goods by this road after they had removed from Massowah or Toualout; and independently of the security from the attacks of the barbarians, they might be very probably induced to remove their station by the facilities which Annesley Bay afforded them, in embarking their elephants' and rhinoceros' teeth.

March 24.—At ten o'clock all the passengers, with Mr. Macgie and the shell-boys, landed on Valentia Island, to walk to the village, while the two vessels beat round to the anchorage. Captain Rudland, and my servant took their guns, and soon parted from the botanisers. We had tolerable success, as the herbaceous plants were

VIEW OF THE VILLAGE IN VALENTIA.

many of them, in seed. The only trees were of the genus Mimosa, except one which I had never before seen. The southern part of the island is a cluster of small hills sprinkled with trees and herbs. We were obliged frequently to ascend by narrow winding paths, made by the natives. The rock is visible in every part, and is dissimilar from that of the other islands near, not having any marine productions in its composition. Water seems plentiful, from the verdure of the little valleys stretching between the hills to the sea shore, forming a remarkable contrast to the burnt appearance of the neighbouring country. In one place the shooters actually found a spring. Two years have now passed without a fall of rain, consequently it may be safely asserted that water is always to be procured here. The goats were numerous on all the hills. The most lofty of these overhangs the village, and its base forms a rocky protuberance within high-water mark. We named it Mount Norris, out of respect to my father, as being the highest place in the island. It was fortunately low water, and we were able to pass round it. The village then came in view, consisting of about forty round and square basket-work huts. The hills here became less, and the plain much larger, being a mile in length, with a grove of Mimosas at the end: beyond this, my servant had shot several very fine wild geese. The Dola and inhabitants of the village gave us a very civil reception, the former appropriating a great part of his house to our use, having couches in it covered with mats, as at Dhalac. The day had fortunately been overcast, and there was a pleasant breeze; yet a walk of four miles, continually ascending and descending, had completely fatigued me, and worn out the shoes of the whole party. We had seen a large heap of the saw-fish's saws in one of the vales;

these we sent for, and purchased for a dollar. They kill the fish for the fins, which is a large article of export to India: it finds a market in China with those of the shark, where they are used, like the birds nests, to give a glutinous richness to the soups.

I now applied for sheep and bullocks for the Panther, but was extremely disconcerted by the discovery that German crowns alone were current here, as we had only Spanish dollars. However, the Dola very kindly took my word, that I would pay for them as soon as the ship anchored. There were no sheep, but the goats were excellent, though dear; one large, or two small, for a dollar. A drove of cattle was brought for me to choose out of: they were by far the finest and fattest I had seen in the Red Sea; for one I paid ten, for the other six dollars. As it would not have been safe to send the largest on board alive, I wished to have him killed. The owner hesitated a little, and desired to be first paid; but the Dola passed his word for me, and he was led to the slaughter. This was performed in a most unbutcherlike manner, with an old sword. They were several minutes in cutting through his neck till they reached the arteries.

As the Panther was at two o'clock too far off to give us any hopes of dining on board, we applied to our friendly Dola, who readily undertook to give us the best the island would afford. A fine young kid was killed, and delivered to his wife, who performed the office of cook, in an inner room, where we were not permitted to enter: a goose was also delivered over to her. In about two hours the whole was served up in very clean bowls of wood, and instead of a table-cloth we had new mats. The good lady had also made us some excellent cakes with juwarry and ghee; pepper and salt were

laid beside them. The only desiderata were knives and forks: of the former they had but one, which had killed the kid, and now was employed to cut it in pieces. It was excellently roasted; and I do not know that I ever enjoyed a dinner more. It was nearly dark before the Panther anchored. I procured the German crowns, paid all my debts, gave my good landlady, and every one who had assisted us, presents, and returned on board after it was dark. We procured here some ghee, which the officers assured me was better than any to be had at Massowah or Mocha. It gives me great pleasure to be able to speak so favourably of a little island, to which I must now naturally be attached. If ever a trade is carried on with Habesh, it will again rise into importance. Supplies could constantly be procured from the main land, where we saw with our glasses numerous droves of cattle, and flocks of sheep. The abundance of water renders it preferable to Massowah, and its vicinity to that place makes it better than Dhalac, while the bays are superior in anchorage to either.

March 25.—We weighed anchor at six with a freshening breeze, which rendered the rounding of Antelope Point an unpleasant and difficult business; we however succeeded, by making several tacks in the bay, and afterwards got on briskly, as the same wind was then fair.

March 26.—It was nearly dark when we got sight of the Aroes, or Anish Islands. The rocks, between which and the high land is the channel, were not visible, yet, as it blew fresh, Captain Court took the bearings, and determined to stand on. We went under our topsails, Captain Court himself keeping a look out. The risk was considerable from the sunken rock, and breakers off Anish; how-

ever, we providentially passed safe between them at eleven o'clock, when Captain Court declared he would not again venture it on any consideration. We lay to part of the night, that we might not pass Mocha, the wind being still fresh from the north.

March 27.—At daylight we stood on, having had a current against us in the night. The airs were become light, and there was every symptom of a change of wind. At two we were nearly in the Roads, when it began to blow very fresh from the south. The guns had been got up, and loaded, to salute me, when the first squall took us; one gun got loose and ran out, so that the port could not be shut. The ship was so crank that we were obliged instantly to take in most of our sails; we, however, fortunately reached a tolerable birth. We set off in the cutter as soon as possible, and got safe ashore at some distance above the north fort. We were met by Mr. Pringle, Mr. Bancroft, and a new party of Americans arrived since our departure, who all resided at the British factory, where I once again took up my residence. It blew very fresh all night, and made us rejoice that we had ventured through the Aroes, as otherwise we should have been driven back to Rackmah.

CHAPTER VIII.

Description of Mocha.—Construction of the houses.—Fortifications.—Garrison.—Parade on Friday.—Cavalry and Infantry exercise.—Jews town.—Arabian women.—Use of spirits.—Appearance of the Arabs and their food.—Government of Mocha.—Police.—Character of the Arabs resident in towns and Bedowee Arabs.—Their conduct to Christians altered lately.—Arabian horses.—Climate of Mocha.—Mr. Salt's Tour to Moosa.—Observations on the formation of the Tehama.—Measures pursued in sinking a well at Mocha.—Foundation of Mocha.—Establishment of European Factories.—Account of the trade in Coffee, Gum Arabic, Myrrh, Frankincense, Gold, Ivory, and India Goods.—The Fair of Berbera.—Possibility of penetrating into Africa.—Government of Yemen.—Account of the Imaum and Family.—Account of Sana.—Polygamy.—Rise and present state of the Wahabee power.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE appearance of Mocha from the sea is tolerably handsome, as all the buildings are whitewashed, and the three minarets of the mosques rise to a considerable height. The uniform line of the flat-roofed houses is also broken by several tombs, which are called Kobas, after the celebrated mosque at that place, which was consecrated by Mahommed himself, and was similar to them in its construction, being a square edifice covered with a circular dome. On landing at a pier, which has been constructed for the convenience of trade, the effect is improved, by the battlements of the walls, and a lofty tower on which cannon are mounted, which advances before the town, and is meant to protect the sea gate. The moment however that the traveller passes the gates, these pleasing ideas are put to flight by the filth that abounds in every street, and more particularly in the open spaces, which are left within the walls, by the gradual decay of the deserted habitations which once filled them. The principal building in the town is the residence of the Dola, which is large and lofty, having one front to the sea, and another to a square, where, on a Friday, he and his chief officers amuse themselves in throwing the jerid in the manner described by Niebuhr. Another side of the square, which is the only regular place in the town, is filled up by the official residence of the Bas Kateb, or Secretary of State; and an extensive serai built

by the Turkish Pâcha during the time Mocha was tributary to the Grand Seignior. These buildings externally have no pretensions to architectural elegance, yet are by no means ugly objects, from their turretted tops, and fantastic ornaments in white stucco. The windows are in general small, stuck into the wall in an irregular manner, closed with lattices, and sometimes opening into a wooden, carved-work balcony. In the upper apartments there is generally a range of circular windows above others, filled by thin strata of a transparent stone, which is found in veins in a mountain near Sana. None of these can be opened, and only a few of the lower ones, in consequence of which a thorough air is rare in their houses; yet the people of rank do not seem oppressed by the heat, which is frequently almost insupportable to an European. The floors, as well as the roofs of the larger houses, are made of chunam, which is sustained by beams, with pieces of plank, or thin sticks of wood, laid across, and close to each other. As they never use a level, the floors are extremely uneven; but this is a trifling inconvenience to people who never use chairs or tables, but are always reclining on couches, supported on every side by cushions. The internal construction of their houses is uniformly bad. The passages are long and narrow, and the staircases so steep that it is frequently difficult to mount them. At the Dola's, numerous doors are well secured on the landing places, to prevent any sudden hostile attack. Little lime is used in any of their buildings; a constant care is therefore necessary to prevent the introduction of moisture; but with caution they last for many years. If however a house is neglected, it speedily becomes a heap of rubbish; the walls returning to their original state of mud, from which they had been formed

VIEW OF THE SOUTH QUARTER OF MOCHA

into bricks by the heat of the sun alone. The wooden materials very soon vanish in a country, where firing is extremely scarce, so that even the ruins of cities, which were celebrated for their magnificence in former times, may now be sought for in vain.

The best houses are all facing the sea, and chiefly to the north of the sea gate. The British factory is a large and lofty building, but has most of the inconveniences of an Arab house. It is however far superior to the French or Danish factories, which are rapidly falling to decay. The lower order of Arabs live in huts, composed of wicker-work, covered on the inside with mats, and sometimes on the outside with a little clay. The roofs are uniformly thatched. A small yard is fenced off in front of each house; but this is too small to admit a circulation of air. It is singular that these habitations should be crowded close together, while a large part of the space within the walls is left unoccupied.

The town of Mocha is surrounded by a wall, which towards the sea is not above sixteen feet high, though on the land side it may, in some places, be thirty. In every part it is too thin to resist a cannon ball, and the batteries along shore are unable to bear the shock of firing the cannon that are upon them. Two forts are erected, for the protection of the harbour, on two points of land which project considerably into the sea, at about a mile and a half from each other. An English man of war would level either to the ground with a single broadside. There are two other batteries within the town, but they are in a still more defenceless state. The guns on all these places are useless, except to return a salute. The Arabs, when they purchased them from infidels, considered them as Sheitan, or belonging to the devil, and therefore immediately

set to work to make them holy, for which to accomplish their ignorance has led them to an extraordinary idea. They enlarge the touch-hole, till nearly the whole of the gunpowder explodes by it, which is also the way by which it very frequently enters. As, however, they have never had occasion to use these guns hostilely, they are not aware of the mischief they have done. The walls on the land side are a sufficient defence against the Wahabee, who always storm a town by means of their cavalry, and the numerous round towers have a very imposing effect on people who are totally ignorant of the use of artillery. Although under constant alarm from the Wahabee, they have neglected to repair the fortifications, and seem to consider the many small doors, nearly on the level of the ground, as affording no facility of entrance to an enemy. Near the sea gate a part of the wall has actually fallen down, and has been repaired with a few boards and matting. The town runs, for about half a mile, in nearly a straight line facing the sea, but afterwards the walls take a circular direction inland. The space thus included is in part not built upon, and, I should suppose, does not contain a population of above five thousand souls.

The garrison, in general, consists of about eighty horse, and two hundred matchlock-men, who receive a regular pay of two dollars and a half per month, for which they provide their own arms, and powder and ball for exercise; but when they quit Mocha, they are supplied with every thing, and have four dollars in advance. There is not a vestige of discipline among them, but they are by no means bad marks-men, though they are a long time in taking aim. When on guard at the different gates, they recline on couches, with their match-locks lying neglected by their sides; while the right hand is occu-

pied, either in sustaining the pipe, or a cup of coffee. Their match-locks are good, and richly ornamented with silver. This, and their crooked dagger or jambea, are their chief pride; and it requires the most rigid economy for several years, to enable a young Arab to provide himself with them. The troops attend the Dola every Friday to the great mosque, and afterwards exercise in the front of his house. I was present several times to see the infantry fire three vollies, which they do with ball cartridge, or at least ought to do, though I suspect economy induces them frequently to leave out the ball. Before they fire, they throw themselves into loose disorder; a plan which the Dola strongly justified to Mr. Pringle, when he waited on him to announce the late glorious victories of the British in the east. On that occasion he fairly told him, that he was very much surprised our soldiers ever gained a victory, disciplined as they were. "Why," said he, "your men are all drawn up in a row, so that any man may be distinguished by a person who has an enmity to him, and be shot immediately; whereas my men, by standing in disorder, and continually changing place, cannot be known." The ball that they use is small, and ill formed, so that, at the respectful distance they keep from each other, a wound is seldom received. As the chief Mussulmaun inhabitants attend the Dola on the Friday, as well as the soldiers, the procession is handsome, several gay streamers being carried by the horsemen, and before the Dola the green and red flags of the Imaum; on the former of which is figured, in white, the double-bladed sword of Mahommed, which has a much greater resemblance to the figure of an European, with his head, feet, and hands cut off. The Arab dress looks well on horseback, and is composed of the richest satins and kincaubs of India. The

flowing scarf, and the turban with the ends hanging low on the back, adds greatly to the elegance of the dress.

Without the walls of the town are two extensive villages embosomed in groves of date trees; the one is occupied by the Samaulies, the other by the Jews, who here carry on an extensive, but disgraceful trade, in a spirit which is extracted from the date tree; although fiery and unwholesome, it is drunk by the Mussulmauns in private. A more profitable trade is carried on by their females with the seamen; a certain degree of mystery is pretended to, but in reality the fact is known and connived at by the Dola, not only for the sake of the profits which he receives, but as being an additional inducement to the Europeans to desert and become Mussulmauns. Ostensibly any connection between a Christian and an Arab woman is severely reprobated, and, if detected, the female suffers a ludicrous punishment; her head is shaved and blackened, she is led round the town on a jack-ass, exposed to the insults of the populace, and at length, is driven from the place. At night, however, a dollar or two will induce one of the Dola's soldiers to conduct a Christian to those females, who exist in abundance at Mocha for the use of the Mussulmauns, and he will stay quiet at the door to protect them from intrusion. These villages are not more cleanly than the town; and the gully, in which the river of Moosa has occasionally reached the sea, is filled with an accumulation of filth that, in a more moist country, would certainly breed a pestilence, though here it has no ill effect.

The Arabs are in general a healthy race of people, fevers being very unusual, though severe colds are common during the cooler months. Ulcers are so prevalent, that it is rare to see a person with-

out a mark from them on the legs: this is chiefly owing to their bad treatment; they only apply a piece of wax to the wound, which is never changed till it falls off; cleanliness is indeed no quality of an Arab, either in his person or habitation. The part of his dress, which is concealed, is rarely changed till it is worn out; and it was a work of the greatest difficulty to force the servants to keep even the British factory free from accumulations of nuisances in every part. The form is gone through, every morning, of sweeping a path across the square from the Dola's house to his stables; yet, at the same time, a dunghill is formed under his windows by the filth thrown out from his Zenana, so extremely offensive, as often to induce the Europeans to take a circuit to avoid it.

The Arabs, when very young, have an expressive, but mild countenance, and a pleasing eye. As they become men, the change is very disadvantageous; their figures are not good, and the beard is generally scanty; but, in advanced age, their appearance is truly venerable. The fine dark eye is then admirably contrasted by the long white beard, and the loose drapery prevents the meagre figure from being observed. The few women, who were visible, had rather pretty countenances, but in contrast to the males, their legs were of an astonishing thickness. An exchange, in this respect, would be greatly to the advantage of both parties.

The food of the Arabians of inferior rank is a coarse grain raised in the country, juwarry, ghee, dates, and, on the sea coast, fish, which is procurable, in any quantity, with very little trouble. The higher orders occasionally add some mutton or beef, boiled to rags, and on festivals, a little pilau. The cawa, made from the husk of the coffee berry, is drank by most of them several times a

day, and the pipe is rarely out of the hands of the men. At the factory a very excellent table was kept by Mr. Pringle. The beef and mutton, which are procured from the coast of Berberá, and particularly from Zeila, where the Imaum has a garrison, are excellent. Poultry is in great abundance, and cheap. Sweet potatoes, chillies, onions, and water melons, are cultivated in the small gardens without the town, wherever water is procurable from wells.

Mocha, as well as the other towns belonging to the Imaum, is governed by a Dola. Formerly an Arab of high rank was appointed to this office, but now that the authority of the sovereign is greatly weakened, it has been considered as more prudent to give the situation to a slave, who can always be removed, and from whom it is more safe to take the profits of his government. The Sheriffe of Abou Arish is an instance of the danger of appointing an Arab of the Prophet's family, who are, in fact, an hereditary nobility, that still consider themselves as intitled to all power among the Mussulmauns. He was appointed to Loheia by the present Imaum, and no sooner reached his government than he prepared to rebel, and with very little difficulty resisted all attempts to drive him out. He has now become a Wahabee, and perfectly secured his independence. The second officer in the town is the Bas Kateb, or Secretary of State. This office is always held by an Arab, who is considered as a licensed spy over the Dola. The third is the Cadi, or Judge; and these three compose the Divan, where all public business is conducted, and where the Dola has only a vote.

The Government of Mocha is the best in the gift of the Imaum; not from the salary, which is trifling, but from the large sums which

he is able to squeeze from the Banians, and foreign merchants. The present Dola was a slave of the Vizier, but in consideration of his good conduct, he has received a title from the Imaum, and, with it, his freedom. He is avaricious and tyrannical; but he has realised a considerable revenue for the Imaum, as well as secured a great treasure for himself. He invented a new method of extorting money from the Banians, by confining them in a room, and fumigating them with sulphur, till they complied with his demands. Mr. Pringle has frequently been obliged to complain at Sana of the obstructions he has put in the way of commerce, and probably he will soon be recalled, and obliged to disgorge his plunder. The Arabs have a whimsical apologue on the subject. They say, that when a Dola is appointed, he weighs nothing; that on going out of the gates of Sana he weighs a frasel; that on arriving at his government, he weighs two; and goes on growing heavier and heavier, during his stay; but that he dwindles and dwindles as he returns, till the gates of Sana reduce him to his primitive leanness.

The present Cadi is a most respectable character, and I am assured that he would consider it as an insult were a fee to be offered him. The consequence is, that Mocha is in general a peaceable town, and, during my whole residence there, no act of violence took place. The police is strict at night; and if any person should be found out of his house after the Dola has retired to rest, a period that is marked by the drums beating before his door, he would be conducted to prison. Opposite to the British factory is a collection of thatched huts, which answer this purpose, where a prisoner lives as comfortably as he can do in any part of the town. At present a large number of people are confined there, who quarrelled with

the Vizier at Sana about religion, broke his windows, and committed several other outrages. They were originally confined in the island of Zeila, but the Dola there, finding that the violent heat of the climate injured their health, humanely sent them back to Mocha, where they still remain, without a hope of release. They are fanatics, and regularly chant their evening prayers in a plaintive, and by no means unpleasing manner.

The Arabs, in general, seem to care very little about their religion. Friday is no otherwise distinguished, than by the flag of the Imaum being hoisted on the forts, and the troops being paraded in the square, whilst the lower orders carry on their usual occupations. Money will, at any time, induce an Arab to wave his prejudices, of which a curious instance occurred during my first residence at the British factory. Captain Keys had given a pig to Mr. Pringle, which the Lascars of the Antelope refused to bring on shore. Some fishermen were however easily procured, who, for the usual fee of a dollar, brought it safe to the factory. Admiral Blanket, the chief of the fishermen, attended it himself, in a state of perfect intoxication; but this was probably done to diminish his scruples in touching so unclean an animal.

A longer residence among the Arabs settled in towns, has only increased the detestation and contempt, with which I behold them. They have all the vices of civilised society, without having quitted those of a savage state. Scarcely possessed of a single good quality, they believe themselves superior to every other nation; and, though inveterate cowards, they are cruel and revengeful. Superstitious followers of Mahommed, they do not obey one moral precept of the Koran; and though they perform the prescribed ablutions with

strict regularity, yet I never heard of a vice, natural or unnatural, which they do not practise and avow; and, though they pray at regulated times to the Deity, yet they also address their prayers to more saints than are to be found in the Romish calendar. Hypocrisy and deceit are so natural to them, that they prefer telling a lie, to speaking the truth, even when not urged to do so by any motive of interest. To this they are trained from their youth, and it forms a principal part of their education. As a government, they are extortioners and tyrants; as traders, they are fraudulent and corrupt; as individuals, they are sunk into the lowest state of ignorance and debauchery; and, in short, require to be civilised more than the inhabitants of the South Seas.

The difference between this character of the Arabs, and that given by Mr. Niebuhr, may at first sight appear extraordinary; but the difference is more in appearance than reality, as it is evident that he takes his opinion from the reception he had met with among the wandering tribes. He seems, however, to have imbibed a partiality for the nation in general, which the conduct of the Dola of Mocha, in particular, by no means justified; and he has attributed virtues to them, which I cannot admit them to possess. Whatever his reception might have been among the tented tribes; in Yemen, it was neither hospitable nor generous. Many, even in that country, are charitable, but it is an outward duty of religion; and never extends beyond their own sect. I am perfectly ready to concur with him in his character of the wandering tribes, who, I believe, are less civilised, and have fewer vices. The virtue of hospitality, so necessary in the barren deserts which they occupy, is completely theirs; and their bravery, and strict sense of honour,

elevate them far above their countrymen, who reside in cities. I should feel happy in supposing that this were owing to their blood being less contaminated by the mixture of slaves from every nation, a degradation from which they are preserved by their poverty; a poverty, however, that is invaluable, as it secures their freedom.

The Arab has essentially altered his conduct towards Christians, who may now walk about the streets of their towns without being liable to insult. The different events which have taken place in India, and have so conspicuously elevated the Cross above the Crescent, have struck a panic to the heart of the Mussulmaun throughout the east. It cannot be supposed that he has beheld the change without repining; but it has forced upon his mind a conviction of the superior power of the Christian, whom he hates as he ever did; but now fears, instead of despising. The English have been the chief instruments in producing this change, and are therefore less popular in Arabia than their rivals, the French. Arabia was for a long time too remote from the scene of action to form any idea of the British power; the veil was removed by the expedition to Egypt, when they were supported by the firmaun of the Grand Seignior, ordering them to destroy any of the ports in the Red Sea that did not afford them protection; and when it was evident that they had the power to put the order into execution. Still, the neglect, or timid caution of our officers, in submitting to the insult of having their seamen stolen from them, and circumcised, in defiance of their remonstrances, prevented the Arabs from feeling our real power; and this was heightened into contempt, by the not resenting of the affronts which were heaped on

Sir Home Popham, who endeavoured to make his way to Sana as an Ambassador, but was obliged to return, as I have been informed by Mr. Pringle, in no very pleasant manner; though attended, when he set out, by a guard of one hundred marines, which ought either not to have been taken, or to have been employed in protecting him from insult. The defeated soldiers of Scindiah at length returned in hundreds, and, after great difficulty, convinced the Dola, and the inhabitants of Mocha, that the English actually could, and would fight: a fact which Mr. Pringle had found it impossible to make them credit.

A calm and moderate firmness would, I have no doubt, easily procure, for Christians in Arabia, every immunity and privilege which, as strangers, they could require. A single ship of war could at any time stop, not only the whole trade of Mocha, but also the necessary supplies of provisions from Berbera. This would force a compliance with the reasonable demand, that the deserters should be given up; and this, once done, the idea of impunity would be done away, and not a seaman would ever afterwards place any confidence in their threats. A disgraceful prohibition also ought to be removed; a Christian is not permitted to go out at the Mecca gate, although the Jews and Banians are. This is the more singular, as the two latter are considered by Mussulmauns as inferior in character to the former, the Jews not believing in Christ, nor the Banians in Moses or Christ, who are both revered by the followers of Mahommed.

The British factory, though one of the best houses in the town, has many inconveniences, independently of its construction, the chief of which is its vicinity to the Dola's stables, where the asses

keep up an incessant braying, particularly if any noise in the night excite their attention. The horses are, in the day time, brought out into the streets, where they are fastened by their hind legs with chains to the ground, and by the head to the wall, so that it requires some precaution to pass between them, and still more to enter the gates of the factory, from the crowd of children belonging to the stable-keepers, who demand, rather than petition for, charity. The horses of Arabia are celebrated for their superior qualities, and certainly I saw some at Mocha of uncommon beauty, particularly about the head and neck. The Imaum is the only horse-dealer in his dominions, and these were his property, being sent down to Mocha for sale. The price rarely exceeds one thousand dollars. The Arab system of riding totally destroys a horse in a very short time. He is taught only to walk, canter, or gallop, as at the menage; and when at full speed is made to stop short by means of a strong bit, which ruins his mouth in a year or two, while the force employed throws him on his haunches, and very frequently founders him at an early age. The asses are of two species; the one has a stripe of black down the shoulders, and cross bands of black on the legs; the other is like the Spanish, and as fine a breed; the mules are consequently very handsome.

The climate of Mocha is more sultry than any I have yet experienced, in consequence of its vicinity to the arid sands of Africa, over which the S. E. wind blows for so long a continuance, as not to be cooled in its short passage over the sea below the straits of Bab-el-mandeb. This monsoon continues above eight months in the year with such force, as frequently to render all communication between the vessels in the road, and the shore, impossible. For

the three or four months that the opposite monsoon from the N. W. blows, the heat is much greater, and the airs are light. These winds extend only to Jibbel Teir; from which place to above Jidda they may be considered as variable for the whole year, though the prevailing one is generally from the same point in which the monsoon blows in the lower part of the Gulf. Above Cosseir an extraordinary change takes place, for, thence to Suez the wind blows for rather more than eight months from the N. W. At Mocha, during the prevalence of the S. E. wind, a thick haze covers the opposite coast, but the moment the north-wester commences, the opposite mountains and islands gradually appear. The high land of Assab is visible from Mocha, as given in the drawing, although its distance was ascertained to be seventy miles, by a set of cross bearings taken from the island of Perim. This proves that there is a great degree of refraction in the atmosphere, of which indeed we had still more positive proof, by the appearance of several other headlands at the same time, and which we knew were much too low to be seen directly at the distance they actually were: a very singular phenomenon also occurred, which has been taken notice of by the ancients—the sun set like a pillar of fire, having totally lost its usual round form.

The country, in the vicinity of Mocha, is more dreary than can well be conceived: to the foot of the mountains it is an arid sand, covered with a saline efflorescence, and producing in abundance the common Mimosa, and a species of Salicornia, whose embrowned leaves, and burnt appearance, gives little idea of vegetation. Near the town the date trees are in profusion; but their stunted growth shows the difference between the soil of Arabia, and the fertile

plains of India: even where a brackish well has given an opportunity of raising a few vegetables, the scene is still cheerless, from the fence of dried reeds, which is alone visible. Mr. Salt, by the permission of the Dola, paid a visit to Moosa, and intended to have gone on to Beit-el-Fakih, but was recalled in consequence of the disputes running high respecting the renegadoes. He describes the country, even there, as uninteresting, though the mountains were fine, and there were fields of grain, and other appearances of cultivation. This is owing to the river, which rises in the hills, and at one season is full of water, though it, in general, loses itself in the Tehama, without reaching the sea. Once, indeed, it found its way to Mocha, where it carried away a considerable part of the Jews' town, which is built in its usually unfrequented bed. Had Mocha not existed, and had a vessel by accident approached the coast at that time, the mariners might justly have reported, that a river of fresh water there emptied itself into the sea. Future navigators would have positively contradicted them; and they would have been accused as liars, without having merited the title. I think it probable that the accounts of the river Charles above Jidda, and the river Frat opposite to it, have originated in a similar circumstance. By the influence of money Mr. Salt experienced a civil reception: he drew the town, of which I have given an engraving; and also the Dola's son, who did the honours of the place, his father being absent.

The singular appearance of the flat Tehama of barren sand, extending from the mountains to the sea, has given rise to the supposition, that it has been formed by gradual incroachments on that element; a supposition which is greatly confirmed by the strata that

H. Salt del.t

J. Landseer sculp.t

WATCHTOWER BETWEEN MOCHA & MUSA.

Mr. Pringle passed through in sinking a well, within the walls of the factory, and which are as follows :

1. Rubbish of buildings, - - - 8 feet, the level of high water.
2. Clay, - - - - - - - 2 ditto.
3. Sea mud and wreck, - - - 1 ditto.
4. Broken madrapore and shells, 6 ditto.
5. Sea sand and shells, . - - 11 ditto.

In this measure he still persists, though the water ouzes in so fast, that he has been obliged to sink a frame of wood, to keep it out. In the third measure the water was mephitic, and extremely offensive. As the depth increases it becomes less brackish, and, at present one hundred pounds of water yields about one pound of salt. It is evident therefore that, at Mocha, the Tehama, to the depth of twenty-eight feet, is composed of marine productions, except indeed the clay, the position of which seems to me most extraordinary. The harbour of Mocha, formed by the two forts, and the spits of land on which they are built, is still gradually filling up. Dows cannot now lie in it; and the sea, which once washed the walls, is now at some little distance. A longer period has shown this gradual incroachment still more in the ancient harbour of Okelis, close to the straits of Bab-el-mandeb, where the Egyptian fleet could once lie, but where there is at present little more than a foot of water.

The celebrated ancient mart of Moosa was probably at Mocha, from the appropriate description handed down to us of its excellent anchorage on a sandy bottom. But if so, it ceased to exist for many generations, till the accidental residence of a hermit, and the discovery of the coffee, again brought it into notice. The history

of the accidental landing of the crew of a ship, bound from India to Jidda, of the visit paid by the Captain to Sheik Shadelei, and the consequent sale of his cargo to the Arabs, who were followers of the Sheik, was narrated to me by the Hadje Abdallah, and confirmed by the Bas Kateb, to whom I applied for information. Mocha, according to these learned natives, was not in existence four hundred years ago; from which period we know nothing of it, till the discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in India opened the Red Sea to the navies of Europe. The first entered it in 1513, under Don Alphonso Albuquerque, with an intention of uniting themselves with the Abyssinians against their common enemy the Mussulmauns, but returned without having reaped any advantage. In 1538, Soolimaun Basha, commanding the fleet of the Soldan of Egypt, stopped at Mocha, on his return from his disgraceful expedition against Diu. It is only mentioned in his voyage as a castle, and was therefore probably a place of little importance, and had a Turk for its governor. In 1609, when the Red Sea was first visited by the English under Alexander Sharpey, Mocha had greatly risen in importance, and had become the great mart for the trade between India and Egypt. The Turkish governor was, at that time, a man of prudence and liberality, so that the English traded without any injury; but his successor, in the following year, had very different ideas, as Sir Henry Middleton experienced to his cost, who was betrayed, and kept as a prisoner for some time. These circumstances were too inimical to trade to admit of its continuance, and there was only a Dutch factory at Mocha, when Monsieur De la Marveille visited it in 1708, and established a factory for his countrymen. Between that period and

VIEW OF MOOSA.

Published May 10. 1809 by William Miller, Albemarle Street London.

1738 the English must have arrived, as, according to Niebuhr, they were there when the French bombarded the town, and obliged the Dola to pay his debts, and reduce the duties from three to two and a half per cent. Mocha was probably then at its highest state of prosperity, when the English, the French, and the Dutch carried on a regular trade with it, and by means of the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope the expense of the freight of coffee was much lessened, and the consumption of it in Europe began proportionably to increase.

Coffee is the only article of trade produced in Arabia, and formerly the whole of this was carried from Loheia, by dows, to Jidda, and thence, either by the caravan of pilgrims to Constantinople, or, in large Turkish vessels by sea, to Suez, and across Egypt to Alexandria; whence it found its way to every part of Europe. As early however as the beginning of the last century, the large European vessels began to carry the coffee round the Cape of Good Hope; which so much reduced the duties in Egypt, that the Porte sent an embassy to Sana to complain of this new system of trade, and to request that no coffee might be exported except through Egypt. The average quantity, that annually went up to Jidda, was about sixteen thousand bales till the year 1803, when a single American ship appeared, and by the great profit of her voyage, induced so many others to follow her example, that the quantity sent to Egypt was reduced nearly one half. Previously to this event, the Porte seems to have had little cause of complaint against the European merchants, as will appear from the following account of the quantity of coffee exported by them during the eight years prior to 1803.

	Bales.	
In 1795,	2154	; of which 2100 for the India Company.
1796,	2000	for the India Company.
1797,	130	for a private merchant.
1798,	72	for a private merchant.
1799,	1866	for a private merchant.
1800,	6441	; of which 1000 for the India Company. *
1801,	1340	; of which 716 for the India Company.
1802,	——	

The Company have, according to the above statement, which was given me by their broker, taken in the eight years not quite six thousand bales of coffee, a circumstance that seems, at first sight, unaccountable, as the Americans not having then made their way to Mocha, the market remained free from competition, and coffee was at its usual price of from thirty-six to forty dollars the bale of 305lbs. net. At present a competition having arisen, by the Company's broker and the Americans bidding against each other, the price has been raised to fifty dollars; but, at that price, above eight thousand bales have been exported direct for America, and two thousand bales for Bombay, for the use of the Company.

The actual expense at which this has been brought to market, will appear in the calculations No. I. and II. That the subject of the coffee trade might be brought into one view, I have added in No. III. a calculation of the expense of bringing coffee direct from Mocha, by sea, to England; in No. IV. of bringing it, in dows, by the way of Egypt, to Alexandria; and in No. V. of bringing it the same way in a vessel, hired at Bombay for the purpose.

* The French were in Egypt.

No. I.

Calculation of the Cost and Expenses of 2,000 Bales of Mocha Coffee brought to England by the way of Bombay, as at present practised by the Honourable the East India Company.

		Dollars.	Dollars.
2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at 50 dollars per bale			100,000
Commission to the purchaser, 5 per ct.	12 per cent.	12,000	
Duty - - 3 per ct.			
Cleaning, shipping, &c. 4 per ct.			
Freight from Mocha to Bombay - -		22,477	
Insurance on 141,500 ds. at 5*l.* per cent. -		7,075	
Interest on 141,500 ds. for 4 months, at 9 per ct.		4,245	
Cooley and boat hire, 1 per cent. on the amount insured - - - -		1,415	
Damage and waste, estimated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per ct. on ditto		3,537$\frac{1}{2}$	
Cooley and boat hire on board the vessel at Bombay, 1 per cent. - - -		1,415	52,164$\frac{1}{2}$
Cost on board, and ready for sea at Bombay,		-	152,164$\frac{1}{2}$
At 5*s.* per dollar, the local value of the dollar -		£.	38,041 2*s.* 6*d.*
Freight on 2,000 bales from Bombay to England, reckoning on 382 tons for cwt. 5,730 gross weight, at 15*l.* per ton - -		£. 5,730	
Insurance on 42,500*l.* at 10 per cent. -		4,250	
Interest on 42,500*l.* for 1 year, at 9 per cent.		3,825	
Loss in weight, estimated at 7*s.* 2*d.* per cent, on sum insured - - -		3,187 10*s.*	
Landing charges, at 1 per cent. on ditto -		425	17,417 10*s.*
Cost to the Company, when warehoused -		-	£. 55,458 12 6
Or 10*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* per cwt.			

The above would be the cost to the East India Company, were they to purchase the coffee themselves at Mocha; but, as they frequently prefer to enter into a contract for the delivery at Bombay, they, in fact, must pay a profit to the contracting merchant.

No. II.

Calculation of the Cost and Expenses of 2,000 Bales of Mocha Coffee from Mocha to America, according to the present practice of carrying on that Trade by the Americans.

		Dollars.
2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at 50 dollars per bale		100,000
Commission to the supercargo, 5 per cent.		
† Duty - - 3 per cent.	12 per cent.	12,000
† Packing, shipping, &c. - 4 per cent.		
Insurance on 110,000 ds. at 10 per cent.		11,000
Freight		19,000
Interest on 100,000 ds. for 1 year, at 6 per cent.		6,000
Supercargoes expenses on shore	say	400
† Loss in weight, damage, &c. 10 per ct. on the sum insured		11,000
† Landing expenses, &c. 1 per cent.		1,100
Duty in America 4 per ct. on the value, which is estimated at 93 ds. per bale, and makes 186,000 ds.		7,440
At 4*s.* 6*d.* per dollar		167,940
		£. 37,786 10*s.*

Or 6*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* per cwt.

The above estimate was given me by a very respectable American captain, excepting the articles marked†, which, however, must fall upon the American traders, and every other exporter of coffee from Arabia.

No. III.

Calculation of the Cost and Expenses of 2,000 Bales of Mocha Coffee brought to England direct from Mocha, by Sea.

			Dollars.
2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at 50 dollars per bale			100,000
Commission of purchase, 5 per cent.			
Duty - - 3 per cent.	12 per cent.	-	12,000
Cleaning, shipping, &c. 4 per cent.			
Cost on board at Mocha, at 4*s.* 6*d.* per dollar - -			112,000
		£.	£. 25,200
Freight on 382 tons, at 15*l.* per ton - -		5,730	
Insurance on 28,000*l.* at 10 per cent. - -		2,800	
Policy duty 28,000*l.* at $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. - - -		70	
Interest on 25,200*l.* for 9 months, at 5 per cent. -		945	
Loss in weight, 10 per cent. on sum insured -		2,800	
Landing and charges, 1 per cent. on ditto - -		280	12,625
Cost when warehoused in England - - -			£. 37,825
Or 6*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* per cwt.			
The above quantity being 5446 cwt. 1 q. 20 lbs. if sold at the present price of 380s. per cwt. would produce the sum of - - - -		£. 103,482	2*s.* 10*d.*

I suppose this article imported for re-exportation, and not subject to any duty at our own Custom-house.

No. IV.

Calculation of the Cost and Expenses of 2,000 Bales of Mocha Coffee conveyed by the Red Sea, and across the Isthmus to Alexandria.

				Dollars.
2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at 50 dollars per bale				100,000
Commission to the purchaser, 5 per cent.				
Duty to Egypt - 7 per cent.			16 per cent. -	16,000
Cleaning, shipping, &c. - 4 per cent.				
Freight by a dow to Jidda on 1,564 bales of 390 lbs. each, being equivalent to 2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ ds. per bale				3,910
Duty to the sheriffe, 3 dollars per bale - - -				4,692
Transhipment at Jidda for Suez, 1 per cent. - -				1,000
Freight by a dow from Jidda to Suez, at 2 dollars per bale -				3,128
			Patacs. Paras.	
Landing at Suez, and porterage, at 10 paras per bale			173 70	
Factorage at Suez - -	45	ditto -	782 —	
Camel hire from Suez to Cairo	270	ditto -	4,692 —	
Fee of the leader of the caravan	21	ditto -	364 84	
Weigher's fee and housing at Cairo	3	ditto -	52 12	
Duty at Cairo - -	2,475	ditto	43,010 —	
Factorage at Cairo - -	30	ditto -	521 30	
Porterage and weighing on departure	10	ditto -	173 70	
Canvas wrappers, and packing	120	ditto -	2,085 30	
Carriage to Boulac, and Janissary	40	ditto -	695 10	
Custom-house dues - -	120	ditto -	2,085 30	
Boat hire to Rosetta - -	60	ditto -	1,042 60	
Landing and re-shipping for Alexandria - -	20	ditto -	347 50	
Factorage at Rosetta -	30	ditto -	521 30	
Boat hire to Alexandria -	15	ditto -	260 60	
Landing and housing at Alexandria	10	ditto -	173 70	
90 paras per patac, at 160 per dollar -			56,981 66	32,052
			Dollars	160,782

No. V.

Calculation of the Cost and Expenses of 2,000 Bales of Mocha Coffee conveyed from Mocha, in a Vessel hired for the Purpose, to Suez, and thence to Alexandria.

		Dollars.
2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at 50 dollars per bale		100,000
Commission to the purchaser, 5 per cent.		
Duty to Egypt - - 7 per cent.	16 per cent. -	16,000
Cleaning, shipping, &c. - 4 per cent.		
Freight of a vessel from Mocha to Suez and back, for 5 months, at 2,000 dollars per month - - -		10,000
Insurance on 125,000 dollars, at 7 per cent. to and fro -		8,750
Expenses to Alexandria, as per calculation No. IV. - -		7,857
Duty at Cairo 3 per cent. on the value there, 120 dollars per bale - - - - - -		7,200
Interest on 100,000 dollars, for 5 months, at 9 per cent. -		3,750
At 4*s.* 6*d.* each -	Dollars	153,557
	£.	34,550 6*s.* 6*d.*

In the estimate No. IV. no allowance is made for the risks by land or sea, or the wastage of 10 per cent. by the drying of coffee. The Arab merchants cover this by the price, which, when 50 dollars per bale at Mocha, is at Suez 90 dollars, at Cairo 120, and at Alexandria 137.

Although three per cent. be the duty levied by the Imaum on all coffee exported beyond the Straits, yet he demands seven per cent. on all that is sent up the Red Sea, even by Europeans.

From the foregoing calculations we learn the following very important facts. That the Mocha coffee, which the East India Company brings into the English market for sale, costs £10. 3*s*. 8*d*. per cwt.; that the Americans do actually take it to America, where it costs them only £6. 18*s*. 9*d*. per cwt.; and that they are therefore enabled greatly to undersell the East India Company in the markets of the Mediterranean, where the actual consumption is: but that it may be brought direct to England, in British vessels, and only cost £6. 18*s*. 10*d*. per cwt; which being only one penny per cwt. more than it costs in America, it is evident, that it might be re-sold by the British in the Mediterranean, at a less price than it can be by the Americans, and consequently that the trade might be completely recovered out of their hands, were it not for the insuperable impediment of the Red Sea being within the charter of the East India Company.

It may also be considered as worthy of remark, that, with respect to the produce of Arabia, the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope seems to have been of but little use; since the articles, according to the present system of trade, as carried on by the East India Company, can be delivered equally cheap at Alexandria by the old route.

Independently of coffee, the export trade of Mocha is very considerable in Gum Arabic, Myrrh, and Frankincense; which is imported from the opposite coast of Africa, but chiefly from Berbera, without the Straits, where a great fair is annually held, which begins in October, and continues until April. The first caravan is always the largest. It brings down of gum arabic about fifteen thousand bahar, each 320lbs: also all the myrrh that is consumed, about two

thousand bahar. The former brings on the spot about fifteen dollars, the latter twenty-two dollars per bahar. The Frankincense is chiefly produced near to Cape Gardafui, and is exported from a harbour of the Samaulies, called Bunder Cassim, near to Jibbel Feel, called by the English Cape Felix, and is usually sold at about twelve dollars per bahar. A small quantity of these articles, at present, finds its way to Bombay, and thence to Europe, while the larger proportion goes up the Red Sea to Egypt, and some is consumed in Arabia and Persia.

The Samaulies, who inhabit the coast from the Straits to Cape Gardafui, have a kind of navigation act, by which they exclude the Arab vessels from their ports, and bring the produce of their country either to Aden, or Mocha, in their own dows. Aden is so much better situated for trade with Berbera, in consequence of both monsoons being favourable for passing and repassing, that the greater part of the myrrh and gum arabic is carried to that place, where the Banians of Mocha have each a partner established, to conduct their business. By these means a monopoly is established, and the trade is loaded by them with the most enormous profits, though they profess to clear only fifty per cent. As the Samaulies claim only half a dollar freight per bahar, the expense of bringing these articles to market will be shown by the following calculations.

GUM ARABIC.

15,000 bahars of 320 lbs. each, at 16 dollars per bahar, are 240,000 ds. at 4*s.* 6*d.* each	£.	54,000	0 0
Expenses of unpacking, repacking, sorting, and delivery, at 4 per cent.		2,160	0 0
Agency 5 per cent.		2,700	0 0
Duties to the Sultaun of Aden, 3 per cent.		1,620	0 0
Cost on board at Aden	£.	60,480	0 0
Freight on 3000 tons, at 15*l.* per ton.		45,000	0 0
Insurance on 67,200*l.* at 10*l.* per cent.		6,720	0 0
Policy duty on ditto, at $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.		168	0 0
Interest of money on actual disbursements at Aden 9 months on the sum of 60,480*l.* at the rate of five per cent.		2,268	0 0
Duty on 42,857 cwt. at 4*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. 27½ per ct. and 8*s.* 3*d.* per cent		12,127	18 6
Landing charges, housing, &c. &c. 1 per cent.		604	16 0
Cost in the warehouse at London	£.	127,368	14 6

Said 15,000 bahars or 42,857 cwt. if sold here at the low price of 10*l.* per cwt. would produce	£.	428,570	0 0	
Or		28	11 5	per bahar.
Whereas the cost is only about		8	9 9	per bahar.
Which leaves a profit of	£.	20	1 8	per bahar.

In the above estimate I have taken the price of gum arabic, as it was in the beginning of September 1808, when the continental markets were shut. It has frequently been sold in London at 30*l.* per cwt.

GUM MYRRH.

2000 bahars of 320lb. each at 22 dollars per bahar 44000 dollars at 4*s.* 6*d.* - - -	£.	9900	0 0
Expenses of unpacking, repacking, sorting, and delivery on board, 4 per cent. - - -		396	0 0
Agency 5 per cent. - - - -		495	0 0
Duties to the Sultaun of Aden, 3 per cent. -		297	0 0
Cost on board at Aden	£.	11,088	0 0
Freight on 400 tons measurement, each bahar measuring 8 cubic feet, at 15*l.* per ton. - -		6,000	0 0
Insurance on 12,320*l.* at 10 per cent. - -		1,232	0 0
Policy duty on 12,400 at $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. - -		31	0 0
Interest on 11,088*l.* cost on board for 9 months, at 5 per cent. - - - - -		415	16 0
Duty on 640,000 lbs. at 8*d.* per lb. 27$\frac{1}{2}$ per ct. and 8*s.* 3*d.* per cent. - - - - -		28,977	15 6
Landing charges, housing, &c. &c. 1 per cent. -		110	17 6
Cost in the warehouse at London -	£.	47,855	9 0

Said 2000 bahars, or 5,714 cwt. sold at 25*l.* per cwt. would produce £. 142,850, or £.71 8 6 per bahar
Whereas the cost is only - - 23 18 6 per bahar.

Which leaves an apparent profit of £. 47 10 0 per bahar.

Myrrh is frequently sold at 40*l.* per cwt, and I was informed by a most respectable broker that the 2000 bahars would find a market at that price if there were no competition; which would be impossible, as the above quantity is all that is produced. I have taken the price of September 1808.

FRANKINCENSE.

10 bahars of 320 lbs. each at 12 dollars per bahar are 120 dollars, at 4*s.* 6*d.* each - - -	£.	27	0 0
Expenses of unpacking, repacking, sorting, and delivery on board to 4 per cent. - - - -		1	1 7
Agency 5 per cent. - - - - -		1	7 0
Duties to the Sultaun of Aden 3 per cent. - - -		0	16 2
Cost on board at Aden	£.	30	4 9
Freight on 2 tons at 15*l.* per ton - -		30	0 0
Insurance on 35*l.* at 10*l.* per cent. - - -		3	10 0
Policy duty - - - - - -		0	5 0
Interest on 30*l.* for nine months, at 5 per cent. -		1	2 6
Duty on 28 cwt. 2 qrs. 8 lb. at 6*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. 27½ per cent. and 8*s.* 3*d.* per cent. - - - -		11	19 3
Charges of landing, housing, &c. &c. 1 per cent. - -		0	6 0
	£	77	7 6

Said 10 bahars or 28 cwt. 28 qrs. 8 lb. sold at
5*l.* cwt. would produce 142*l.* 17*s.* or £. 14 5 8 per bahar.
Whereas the cost is only about - 7 14 9 per bahar.

Which leaves an apparent profit of - £. 6 10 11 per bahar.

The quantity of incense to be procured being unlimited, I have only made the estimate per 10 bahars. A great quantity is consumed in Catholic countries.

The prices, at which the gum arabic, myrrh, and frankincense are stated to be purchased, were the actual prices at Berbera in 1805; but the competition raised at Mocha by the arrival of the Americans affected these articles in as great a degree, as it did the coffee, and raised the price there to a ruinous height. This evil is done away, at the moment these sheets are going to the press, by the American embargo; and I have not any hesitation in asserting, that the British may, with the utmost facility, secure the trade to themselves: but if Arabia should in future be as much neglected as it has hitherto been, the trade will again fall into the hands of the Americans, who will undersell us in every market in Europe, and justly laugh at our remissness and folly.

From the fair of Berbera Arabia draws her supplies of ghee, and a great number of slaves, camels, horses, mules, and asses; but the profit on these articles is much less than on the sale of India goods, which is the return made to the inhabitants of Africa, for the whole produce of the country thus brought to Berbera. Many chiefs of the interior, and particularly the sovereign of Hanim, who lives twenty days journey west of Berbera, send down caravans of their own, to purchase, with gold and ivory, the manufactures of India. It is much to be regretted, that the sale is at present clogged by the unreasonable profits of the Banians, which of course, greatly diminish the consumption. Were a regular trade carried on at Aden, whose sovereign would rejoice at the adoption of any plan likely to increase his small revenue, and the profit reduced to about forty or fifty per cent. the consumption would probably increase ten fold, for, at present, the Africans have no limit to their purchases of these articles, except the amount of their

sales of ivory, gold, &c. The profits of the Banians would indeed be diminished, but the honest manufacturer would be a gainer in an equal proportion.

It is a well known fact, that even in India, the muslins of British manufacture find a considerable market; and a few pieces of a checked pattern, which I had in Arabia, were universally admired. It is probable, therefore, that, if these were sent out to Aden, they would find a ready sale; as would, I have no doubt, our printed and quilled calicoes. The different articles of hard-ware, which are much wanted by every uncivilised nation, at present, only reach the eastern coast of Africa by the way of Bombay and Mocha, though the estimates, that I have before made, respecting the return of Arabian articles to Europe, show equally, that British manufactures could be carried to Mocha, at a little more than half the price they at present obtain.

The Samaulies, who inhabit the whole coast from Gardafui to the Straits, and through whose territories the whole produce of the interior of Africa must consequently reach Arabia, have been represented by Mr. Bruce, and many others, as a savage race, with whom it would be dangerous to have connection. I think that this is an unjust accusation, and is sufficiently disproved by the extent of their inland trade, their great fairs, and their large exports in their own vessels. A great number of them live close to Mocha, and are a peaceable inoffensive race. Some Indian vessels were wrecked on the coast between Mount Felix and Zeila; the chief immediately seized all the property, but he not only saved the lives of the crews, but maintained them till they were sent to Mocha. This might have led to a closer intercourse, had it not

H. Salt Esq.r Pinx.t

2

Pollard sculp.t

1

I. A SAMAULIE, ___ 2. THE SON OF THE DOLA OF MOOSA.

Published May 1. 1809. by W. Miller. Albemarle Street.

been for the misconduct of the commander of a small vessel, who, during the Egyptian expedition, stopped at the same place, and tried to force the chief to bring water on board, without being paid for it. On receiving a civil refusal to this unreasonable request, he sent his people on shore to storm the town. The inhabitants laid an ambush, and cut them all off. The chief immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Pringle, which I saw; in it he professed his good will towards the English, and cited his conduct towards the wrecked mariners as a proof of his not wishing to injure that nation, but stated, that it was out of his power to oblige his people to comply with the unreasonable request of the Captain, and that the destruction of the assailants was only owing to their own misconduct. I fear that this is not a solitary instance, and that, on every side of Africa, the natives have occasionally had reason to consider a stranger and an enemy as the same thing.

In their persons the Samaulies are neither Negroes nor Arabs. They have woolly hair, drawn out into points, in every direction, but their noses are not flat. They are finely limbed, with a very dark skin, and beautifully white teeth. The expression of their countenance is neither fierce, nor unpleasing. I consulted several of the respectable merchants of Aden and Mocha, respecting the possibility of penetrating into the interior of Africa, by the caravans, which return from Berbera, and they uniformly agreed that, by securing the friendship of one of the Samauli chiefs, and learning the language, an European might, in his own character, make the journey in safety. It would certainly however be more wise that he should pass for a Mussulmaun, but not for an Arab, a nation whom they detest. I think it probable that a trade is carried

on westward from Hanim, by which a communication exists with the nations, in the vicinity of the mountains of Komri. If so, a traveller might at length reach the sources of the Nile, by departing from Berbera, which is the position nearest to them, that is accessible to Europeans.

The riches of Yemen may be considered as solely owing to its coffee, for it is from the sale of that article, that its merchants receive the dollars in Egypt, with which they purchase the manufactures and spices of India. In former times the balance of bullion, which was remitted to this latter country; amounted to twelve lac of dollars per annum. This year it will not be above two lac, a falling off, which is chiefly owing to the increase of the Muscat merchant vessels, which, under the protection of their neutral flag, carry rice to the isle of France, and bring thence prize goods, which they purchase at half their original cost; by these means, not only injuring the regular trade of Surat and Bombay, but greatly encouraging the privateering of the Isle of France, whose inhabitants would otherwise have no means of disposing of the property they capture. It is even believed, that frequently the Muscat flag is only a cover, and the goods, thus exported to Arabia, are bonâ fide, French property. Arabia itself consumes only a small proportion of its imports, the residue, after paying a duty of three per cent. on the import, and seven on the export, is sent, by dows, to Massowah, Jidda, and Aden, for the fair of Berbera. On the returns of gold, and ivory, a very considerable profit is also made by the Banians, who nearly monopolise the whole trade.

The number of these Gentoo merchants, at present resident at

Mocha, is about two hundred and fifty; there are also about thirty at Beit-el-Fakih, and fifty at Zebeid. Most of them come from Jeygat, a piratical state at the entrance of the Gulf of Cutch; they come young, and stay till they have made a sufficient property to live comfortably at home. They never bring their wives with them, from a dread of their being insulted by the Arabs. Nothing, but the great profits attending their trade, could induce a person of any property to live so wretched a life; yet Devagé, the Company's broker, is considered as sufficiently rich to command three or four lacs of dollars at a moment's notice. The Arabs are perfectly aware of their riches, and frequently extort money from them, particularly when about to return to India. Devagé's brother, who was, before his departure, the head of the house, escaped on board an English vessel, without having undergone the last squeeze which the Dola intended to give him. Devagé, to avoid punishment, was obliged to prove, that he had been carried on board against his will. The Gentoos live according to their own laws, and show a great obedience to the chief Banian, who acts for them in all public concerns. In private life they are inoffensive and timid; and even their religious prejudice, which prevents their destroying any thing that has life in it, is amiable. As traders, however, it is impossible to speak well of them, for no tie of honesty binds them. One merchant boasted to Mr. Pringle that, in a sale of silk, he had made ten frassels turn out twelve and a half. This, however, was after that gentleman had detected their frauds, and had procured proper weights for the use of the factory.

A very large kind of dow, which is called a Trankey, is employed in the trade between India and Mocha. These vessels have the

privilege of not paying any duty to the Imaum, while a ship that lands any part of her cargo, is obliged to pay five hundred dollars, and a brig three hundred. This prevents the vessels that come for coffee, from bringing any articles for sale, as a whole cargo would not be sold under some months, and the profits upon a few pieces of muslin or cloth, would not equal the five hundred dollars. It is however " an old custom, and cannot be changed."

Yemen has probably reached its greatest prosperity, and may indeed be considered as on the decline. The coffee country is gradually falling into the hands of the Sheriffe of Abou Arish, who has become a follower of Abdul Waheb, and has opened the port of Loheia for the exportation of coffee. The Sultaun of Aden also procures a small quantity, and will probably increase his territories at the expense of the Imaum. His port is so far superior to any other in Arabia, that I cannot but believe it will soon become the mart for all that is exported, except to Suez. The rise of Mocha has been owing to accidental circumstances, which now no longer operate, and its trade will probably remove to Loheia and Aden. As the dynasty of the present Imaum may be thus at an end, I have been induced to bring down the history of his family from the time of Mr. Niebuhr, to whose accuracy on this and on every other occasion, I am bound to pay the tribute of approbation.

According to Mr. Niebuhr, in the year 1763, the eleventh Imaum, El Mahadi Abbas, reigned in Sana. His eldest son Abdallah died before him; according therefore to the usual Mussulmaun custom, he was succeeded by his second son Ali, the present Imaum, who assumed the title of Elmansôor, on his accession in the year 1774. El Mahadi Abbas left, beside Ali, the following issue. 3d, Khassem.

4th, Mohammed. 5th, Achmed. 6th, Yusuff. 7th, Ismael. 8th, Hassan. 9th, Hossein. 10th, Abdulrachman. 11th, Jachia. 12th, Ibrahim. 13th, Soolimaun. 14th, Saduc. 15th, Salauddien. 16th, Saleb. 17th, Yacoub. 18th, Sherifuddien. 19th, Shumsuddien. 20th, Abdulkerim. The present Imaum has only nine sons. 1st, Achmed. 2d, Hassan. 3d, Abdallah. 4th, Mohammed. 5th, Jachia. 6th, Ismael. 7th, Khassem. 8th, Abbas. 9th, Saiid. Achmed has three sons, Khassem, Ibrahim, and Abdallah; while his brother Abdallah has already fifteen. It is supposed that at the death of the Imaum the succession will be disputed by Achmed and Abdallah; the former, though the eldest, is the son of an Abyssinian slave; he is rich, but avaricious, is the favorite of his father, and has great power as commandant of the military force at Sana. The latter is the son of an Arab wife, is in his manner open, in his character liberal, and consequently a great favorite of the soldiers.

The Imaum is, at least, seventy-eight years old, and fast approaching to dotage; he will not hear of any danger, and endeavours still to amuse himself in his sooty harem of four hundred Abyssinian slaves. The Vizier attaches himself to the party of Abdallah, though, before the Imaum, he treats them with equal respect. As the powers of the old man decay, their hostilities become more open, and the Hadje Abdallah informed me, that, during his residence at Sana, they actually drew their jambeas on each other, in their father's presence, but were separated by the Vizier. If, while disputing about the succession, they do not exert themselves to raise a force sufficient to resist the Wahabee, they will have no kingdom to suceeed to. The whole disposable force of Yemen did not then exceed six hundred horse, and three thousand foot;

not a tenth part of the force that their enterprising enemy could bring against them.

Although Sir Home Popham failed in his attempt to reach Sana, Mr. Pringle, the present acting Resident, has twice visited that capital, without meeting with any insults or difficulties. He informed me that Sana is in latitude 15°. 20′. N. and longitude 46°. 45′. east of Greenwich, and described the town as handsomely built, and surrounded by gardens. The palace is a residence not unworthy of a prince, and a considerable degree of dignity and splendour is kept up. On his first visit he carried presents to the amount of thirty thousand rupees, in shawls, satins, muslins, and other rich articles, for the harem. These were extremely acceptable to the Imaum, and Mr. Pringle's reception was consequently most gracious. On his second visit he unfortunately changed his plan, and took handsome sabres and pistols, which were by no means suited to the present taste of the Imaum. He was however very polite, and even assured Mr. Pringle, that he would issue orders that the French should receive no supplies in any of his ports. Had they actually appeared, I believe that he neither possessed the power, nor the inclination to refuse them.

The difference of climate between the Tehama and the hills of Yemen is so great, as, generally, to produce illness in those who change from one to the other. The air at Sana is cool, and, in the nights, even cold. Grain grows in abundance, and a profusion of fruit adds greatly to the luxuries of the table. A portion of these find their way to Mocha, where I have tasted apples, peaches, apricots, plums, and a variety of grapes. Of the latter, a small kind was particularly admired, which was called kismis, and had no stones.

It has been argued by Mr. Bruce and others, that polygamy is necessary in the East, in consequence of two females being born to one male. I inquired of the Hadje Abdallah if this were true, according to his experience; and he assured me that it was. I confess, however, that I received the information from the Mussulmauns with some doubt, as it is evidently used by them as an argument in support of their law, which gives them the privilege of having more than one wife. Dr. Russell, who, from his long residence at Aleppo, had better opportunities of investigating the truth, not only expresses a strong doubt on the subject, but also gives, in a note, the report of a Maronite priest, who was employed in 1740, to number that nation in Aleppo; by which it appears that there were one thousand five hundred and thirty-three females and one thousand five hundred males; a disproportion that cannot serve as the ground for an argument in favour of polygamy. Mr. Niebuhr also gives several lists, made by the Christian missionaries, of the children annually baptised by them in India; and here the males and females were nearly equal to each other, but rather in favour of the males; and though in the list of those baptised in Persia there are only one hundred and nineteen to one hundred and fifty-one females, yet this difference is far from conclusive, even if it were not supposed to be owing to some accidental circumstance: a conjecture that may by no means appear improbable, when it is observed, how greatly this list differs from the others, taken in equally hot climates, and where polygamy is as common as in Arabia. Were the fact, as asserted by the Mussulmauns, to be proved, I should still doubt whether polygamy was not the cause, instead of the effect, of the birth of the supernumerary females.

It is now above forty years since a new sect started up in Arabia, which has rapidly increased, and is likely to cause a greater change, in the political situation of that country, than any event since the time of Mohammed. Abdul Waheb, a private individual, born, according to Niebuhr, in El Aiâne, a town of the district of Darale, in the province of Nedjed-el-Ared, has given his name to his followers, who are from him called Wahabee. This extraordinary man, for many years, studied the sciences in Arabia; and, after travelling through Persia, and residing for some time at Basra, returned to his native country, and proclaimed himself the reformer of the Mussulmaun religion. The province of Nedjed was at this time divided into a multitude of smaller tribes, each governed by its own Sheik. To these, Abdul Waheb pointed out the abuses which had crept into the Mussulmaun religion, particularly the worshipping of saints, and the use of spirituous liquors and other exhilarating articles. He reprobated the doctrine of the two sects of the Sunnis, with respect to the denying that the Koran was either created, or existing from all eternity, but admitting that it was inspired by God, as a guide for the conduct of mankind. However, as the greater part of the Sheiks were Sunnis, he conciliated them by acknowledging the authority of the sayings of Mohammed. My good friend the Hadje Abdallah, who was avowedly a Wahabee, and was in Mecca at the time it was taken by Suud, gave me their profession of faith, which is as follows.

"There is only one God. He is God; and Mohammed is his Prophet. Act according to the Korân, and the sayings of Mohammed. It is unnecessary for you to pray for the blessing of God on the prophet, oftener than once in your life. You are not to invoke the

Prophet to intercede with God in your behalf, for his intercession will be of no avail. At the day of judgement it will avail you. Do not call on the Prophet; call on God alone."

These doctrines rapidly spread among the different tribes, whose power was nearly equal, and tended gradually to the recognition of a supremely controlling power in the person of the Reformer; which completely destroyed the former balance of power, and gave to Abdul Waheb a preponderating influence in the north-east part of Arabia. The Sheiks, who did not acknowledge either his spiritual or temporal power, at length united against him, and, under the command of the Sheik of Lachsa, who was alarmed for his own safety, attacked him in his native city. Abdul Waheb defended himself successfully on this occasion; and on another, when his enemies marched against him with four thousand men. Abdul Waheb from this time gradually extended his territories, and his faith. Sheik Mekrami of Nedjeran was one of his most powerful followers, and, according to the conjecture of Mr. Niebuhr, contributed greatly to his prosperity; a circumstance that was confirmed by Hadje Abdallah, who met the Sheik twenty-seven years ago at Mecca, and had much conversation with him.

Abdul Waheb was too able a man to leave neglected any means of increasing the activity of his followers; following, therefore, the example of Mohammed, and fully aware of the influence which self-interest has over the human mind, he added to the inducements of religious zeal, the temptation of plunder, by declaring, that all the property belonging to those who were unconverted, was unholy, and to be confiscated for the use of their conquerors. Numbers, therefore, to save their property, professed themselves Wahabee

before he marched against them, and immediately began to attack their neighbours, in order to oblige them to change their religion, and give up their property. By these means Abdul Waheb secured to himself the supreme power over the whole province of Nedjed, while, by his most powerful servant, Sheik Mekrami, he carried his hostilities into Yemen. On his death he was peaceably succeeded in his spiritual and temporal power by his son Abduluziz.

I have not been able to learn the date of Abduluziz's accession, but he reigned till May 1803, when he was assassinated, while at prayers in a mosque at Darail, his capital, by an Arab, whose daughter he had forcibly carried away from her home many years before. The Arab immediately sold all his property, and with a patient perseverance followed the footsteps of his oppressor, whom, at length, though his spiritual and temporal sovereign, he sacrificed to his private revenge.

During the reign of Abduluziz, the religion of his father was extended over the greater part of the peninsula of Arabia, either by the arms of his son Suud, or by his followers. Many Arab tribes of the Great Desert also recognised him as their religious head; and even in temporal concerns, indirectly admitted his authority, by remitting him a proportion of their plunder, for charitable purposes, when they took possession of the celebrated burying place of Hossein at Arbela, and, according to their invariable practice, destroyed his magnificent tomb, so highly venerated by the Persians, and the other followers of Ali.

The Sheriffe of Abou Arish had, as I have formerly mentioned, been appointed by the Imaum of Sana, Dola of Loheia, where he soon became independent. The different Sheiks, who held many of

the districts of Yemen, under a kind of feudal tenure, which admitted the right of the soil to be in the Imaum, but who hardly paid him any thing for it, were encouraged by the success of the Sheriffe of Abou Arish, and threw off even the appearance of obedience. The Imaum was too weak to conquer them; but they had a more powerful opponent in the Wahabee, who soon reduced the Sheriffe of Abou Arish to obedience, and to the necessity of adopting their religion, plundered him of his whole property, and then told him to go and indemnify himself in Yemen. He followed their advice, or rather orders; and, recognising Suud as his sovereign, carried devastation, in his name, to the gates of Mocha. Beit-el-Fakih, and the greater proportion of the coffee country, are his, and Hodeida alone prevents him from securing the Tehama from Loheia to the straits of Bab-el-mandeb. Although this place remain to the Imaum, as a possession, it is useless; since the Dola was obliged to burn the town, to prevent the houses from being occupied in the attack on the forts. In the latter his soldiers remained perfectly safe, as the Wahabee had no cannon; but he will probably soon be obliged to embark, and fly to Mocha in search of food, when Mocha itself must expect to be attacked.

Mecca and Medina have been so long recognised as the two principal cities of Arabia, that the Wahabee who aspired to the sovereignty of the whole country, were particularly anxious to secure them. Galib, the present Sheriffe, is a monster of iniquity, having scrupled no means to accumulate treasure, and having poisoned two Pachas, and a young prince of the Maladives, who came in a vessel of his own to Jidda, on his way to Mecca. He was of course unpopular, and his subjects by no means inclined to

defend him. Even his brother-in-law, Mozeifé, had so little confidence in him, that, on being sent on a mission to Daraie, he quitted his own party, and became a Wahabee. Abduluziz, conceiving this a good opportunity to attack the holy cities, early in January 1803, intrusted Mozeifé with the command of twelve thousand men, who fought several battles with his brother-in-law, and constantly defeated him. In February of the same year he laid siege to Tayif.

Galib, who had here his finest palaces and most flourishing gardens, hastened to its relief, and defended it for several days, till his nephew Abdullah secretly retired in the night to Mecca, when, conscious of the detestation in which he was held by his subjects, and dreading lest they should place Abdullah in his stead, he abandoned Tayif, having set his palaces on fire. Mozeifé immediately entered, and his followers commenced their usual devastations. Eight hundred males were put to the sword, but the harems were respected. Many houses were burned, and the whole were plundered; but the treasure of the Sheriffe had been conveyed to Mecca with his wives and followers. All the holy tombs were destroyed, and among them that of Abdullah Ebn Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, an edifice celebrated throughout Arabia for its pre-eminent beauty and sanctity. The grave itself, and the stone which covered it, were not disturbed. Mozeifé, as a reward for his treachery, was appointed Governor. Abduluziz had no intention that Mecca, Medina, and their sea ports of Jidda and Yambo, should be held by any descendant of the Prophet as a viceroy under him; he therefore sent his eldest son Suud to command the victorious army at Tayif, which marched so unexpectedly against

Mecca, on the 26th of April 1803, that the Sheriffe, panic struck, determined to retire, with all his treasures, to Jidda. He effected this in the night, leaving his brother to make the best terms he could with the enemy. On the following day Mecca, for the first time since Mohammed entered it in 629, was obliged to submit to a hostile invader, who, however, strictly conformed to the terms of capitulation, and neither plundered nor injured the inhabitants. The religious prejudices of the Wahabee were greatly offended by above eighty splendid tombs, which covered the remains of the descendants of Mohammed, and formed the great ornament of Mecca. These were levelled with the ground, as was also the monument of the venerable and respected wife of the prophet, Kadija. The coffee houses next felt the desolating zeal of the reformers. The hookahs were piled in a heap, and burned; and the use of tobacco and coffee prohibited under severe penalties. The holy places were plundered of their valuable articles, but the Caaba remained uninjured. The Wahabee have asserted, that the veneration paid to the black stone was idolatrous; and disapproved of the ceremonies practised by the pilgrims at the stone of Abraham, which is placed near the well of Zemzem, and is supposed to have on it the mark of the Patriarch's foot, formed while he stood there to build the Caaba. Into this mark the water is poured from the well, for the pilgrims to drink. Suud seems to have justly estimated the benefits which Mecca enjoyed from the annual influx of pilgrims; he therefore acted with moderation, and confirmed the Cadi whom the Grand Seignior had appointed. He also wrote to him the following letter.

" Suud to Selim.

" I entered Mecca on the 4th day of Moharem, in the 1218th year of the Hejira. I kept peace towards the inhabitants. I destroyed all the tombs which they idolatrously worshipped. I abolished the levying of all customs above two and a half per cent. I confirmed the Cadi, whom you had appointed to govern in the place agreeably to the commands of Mohammed. I desire that, in the ensuing years, you will give orders to the Pachas of Shaum, Syria, Misr, and Egypt, not to come accompanied by the Mahamel,* trumpets, and drums, into Mecca and Medina. For why? religion is not profited by these things. Peace be between us, and may the blessing of God be unto you! Dated on the 10th day of Moharem." This answers to our 3d of May.

On the 11th of May Suud marched against Jidda; but the delay at Mecca had given time to the Sheriffe to prepare for his reception, by bringing on shore all the cannon from the vessels in the harbour, and planting them on the walls. An attempt was made by the Wahabee to storm the town, but it failed; Suud, however, contrived to cut off all supplies, even of water; in consequence of which, numbers perished by thirst, in the nine days that the blockade continued; and at length the Sheriffe was forced by the inhabitants to offer a sum of money to Suud, on condition of his abandoning the siege. The arrangements were actually made for the payment of a lac and thirty thousand dollars, when the intelligence arrived of the death of Abduluziz, which induced Suud to return instantly to Daraie, lest any rival should dispute the succession. Jidda was thus saved, and even Mecca fell again under

* The richly ornamented covering for the Caaba.

the control of the Sheriffe; but Tayif, the most lovely spot in Arabia, a spot so unlike the surrounding country, that the Arabs believe it to have been a part of Syria, detached and dropped during the general deluge, still remained in the hands of Mozeifé.

In 1804 Medina, with its treasure, which had accumulated for ages by the donations of the faithful, became a prey to the Wahabee: and the tomb of the Prophet shared the fate of those of his descendants. Jidda was again attacked, but without success, as the Sheriffe had received supplies from Egypt. Yambo fell, but was retaken on the sea side. The Pacha of Syria forced his way through the undisciplined troops of Suud, and the usual ceremonies were performed by the Faithful at the holy Caaba; probably for the last time; for the numerous hordes of the Wahabee now cover the Desert with their flying squadrons, and render a passage too dangerous to be attempted.

The Johassen Arabs, who acknowledge the religious supremacy of Suud, have occasionally entered the Red Sea, and, should they obey his call, and appear with their powerful naval force before Jidda, resistance would be unavailing, and the descendants of the Prophet would cease to reign in Arabia. The Imaum of Muscat has perished in battle, and his son is said to be under the control of a Wahabee guardian. Yemen has no natural means of resisting the vast power of her opponent, and must sink under the imbecility of her government. In the vast peninsula of Arabia, the little state of Aden alone offers any rational means of resistance to the power of the Wahabee, by the wisdom of her sovereign, and the bravery of his little army. Gratitude calls upon the British to prevent his ruin; for to them

he has ever been an attached and useful ally. During the expedition to the Red Sea, his port was open to them; and, on General Murray's quitting Perim, the British troops were, with an unbounded confidence, admitted within his walls. On the appearance of the Johassen fleet in his harbour, in 1804, while a large Surat vessel was lying there, he sent his soldiers on board to protect her from the pirates, and obliged them to put to sea, without receiving any supplies, though they offered him the half of the plunder they had already made, if he would permit them to remain. These repeated acts of friendship now call for a return, which it is perfectly in the British power to afford.

The Wahabee, conscious of their want of arms and ammunition, and fully convinced of the benefit they would receive from a trade being opened between India and their ports, have made repeated offers to the Bombay Government, of granting immunities and exclusive privileges to the British merchants, if they would establish a factory at Loheia; they would therefore willingly comply with any request in favour of the Sultaun of Aden, as an ally of the British, and would, with little regret, give up an attack on a power, whom they have hitherto found capable of resisting them.

No answer has as yet been given to the applications of the Wahabee; and the Bombay Government behold, without concern, a revolution, which is again connecting the disunited Arabs under one supreme master. It is a circumstance well worthy of remark, that this has, for the first time since the death of Ali, occurred at a moment, when the surrounding kingdoms of Asia and Africa are sunk into the same state of imbecility and distraction, to which they were reduced under the Romans, when the dissolute and lukewarm

Christians were obliged to yield to the ardent and zealous followers of Mohammed.

Low as the power of the Turkish empire is now fallen, I do not expect that the Wahabee will completely prevail against it, unless, by a communication with Europeans, they obtain supplies of arms and ammunition, and, with them, learn a proportion of European discipline. I consider Arabia, however, as lost for ever to the Sultaun; and, consequently, that he has ceased to be the head of the Mussulmaun religion. The order of Mohammed, that his followers should, once in their lives, visit Mecca, can no longer be performed. The sacred city has heard the din of hostile arms, and is in possession of a Prince who denies to Mohammed that veneration which he has received for twelve hundred years. His descendants will soon cease to reign; and although the Korân may be revered for a longer period throughout a portion of Asia, the mighty fabric of Islamism must be considered as having passed away, from the moment that Suud entered Mecca on the 27th of April, 1803.

CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings at Mocha during my absence.—Massacre of the officers of the Alert by the Arab crew.—Survey and condemnation of the Assaye.—Disputes with the Dola about Renegados.—Captain Court's survey of the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb and the neighbouring islands.—Incorrectness of Sir Home Popham's chart.—Badness of the Arab servants.—Observations on the Factory.—Preparations for the visit to Abyssinia.—Departure of Mr. Salt, Captain Rudland, Mr. Carter and their attendants for Abyssinia.—Arrival of Captain Barton from Suez.—Conduct of the Americans. —Incursions of the Wahabee.—Alarm at Mocha.—Distress of the inhabitants.— Conduct of the Dola.—Arrival of two vessels under Seid Mohammed Akil from the —Isle of France.—Their proceedings.—Departure from Mocha.—Visit to Ait.— Arrival at Massowah.—Return of Mr. Salt with the Baharnegash.—Reception of him on board the Panther.—Departure of the Baharnegash for Abyssinia.

CHAPTER IX.

MAY 5.—On my return to Mocha, it was with very great pain I discovered that an unfortunate attachment to spirituous liquors, brought on originally by the solitude of the Factory, had so greatly gained on Mr. Pringle, that, instead of conducting himself with the prudence and discretion, which had heretofore conciliated the natives, and given respectability to the British character, he had, during my absence, thrown every thing into confusion, and was on the worst of terms with Devagé and the Dola.

Soon after my departure, a letter was received by Mr. Pringle from the Nakib, or native chief, of Macullah, informing him, that he had detained in his harbour a vessel which had entered under Arab colours, but which he had discovered to be English; that the Arab part of the crew had risen on the officers, had murdered them all, and had piratically changed the destination of the vessel. The Nakib concluded with professions of esteem for the English nation, and desired Mr. Pringle to send some person to Macullah, to receive and take charge of the property. Captain Benzoni, a respectable Italian, who had been in the service of Seid Mohammed Akil, but was discharged by him because, as Captain, he would not take a false oath that a ship, which the Seid had intentionally run on shore to cheat the underwriters at Bombay, was lost by stress of weather, was then at Mocha, and was immediately sent down to Macullah, with a letter to the Nakib.

Mr. Pringle, nevertheless, made a bargain with an American captain, to carry him there in his way home, and followed Benzoni, who had in the mean time prepared the ship for sea, which proved to be the Alert, from Bengal, loaded with rice and piece-goods. The Nakib had immediately given Captain Benzoni possession of the ship, and had assured him that he would account for the rice, which he had landed and consumed. Mr. Pringle, however, on his arrival, was seized with a groundless panic, and ran away in the night, without concluding any arrangement with the Nakib. He next proceeded to Aden, with the Arab colours hoisted below the English, to the great mortification of the Sultaun, whom he abused and threatened. The Alert had very little water, her casks were therefore landed for a supply; but in the night Mr. Pringle again moved off, leaving them behind. On reaching Mocha, he remonstrated with the Dola for his former ill conduct, and threatened to fire on the town. Fortunately he did not carry his folly so far, and he was brought to his senses by discovering, that he had neither water nor provisions on board. He was obliged to hoist signals of distress, when the Dola permitted him to receive supplies, and at length to return to the Factory.

Immediately on my arrival, the Dola, and the Banian of the Sultaun of Aden, waited on me, to complain of the conduct of Mr. Pringle, and I felt it my duty to assure them, that nothing could be more contrary to the orders of the India Government, than the whole of his proceedings. He was indeed perfectly convinced of this himself, and, as his many amiable qualities had now recovered their former influence, a reconciliation was established without difficulty: poor Devagé was deeply incensed; nor could I do more

than induce him to come to the Factory on business while I was there; Mr. Pringle having, in one of his fits, struck him on the cheek with the sole of his slipper, the deepest insult that can be offered to an Asiatic, among whom it is considered as a mark of disrespect to show even the sole of the foot.

The Assaye was surveyed by the officers and the carpenters of the American ships; who reported, that the whole of her iron-works were totally decayed, her timbers deficient in number, and together with her bows and upper works, very bad, her bottom worm eaten, and rotten, and not a bolt to be discovered in her; they therefore declared it was impossible for her to go again to sea. It is really astonishing how Mr. Sutherland, and the committee of survey, could have reported her fit for the service of the marine, since she could not have been in a much worse state than when she entered the Red Sea. I reported the circumstances to Lord Wellesley, Mr. Duncan, and Captain Money, the new superintendent of marine; and as Mr. Maxfield was now thrown out of his command, and his crew were to be returned to Bombay, I suggested to Mr. Pringle the eligibility of their being turned over, marines and all, to the Alert, and that the Assaye should be broken up. This was agreed to; and, on the 2d of April, Mr. Maxfield entered on his new command, and began to prepare for sea. On the 8th arrived the Company's cruizer Princess Augusta, Captain Bennett, having on board my friend Captain Sparks, as commissioner to Macullah, for the recovery of the Alert, dispatched by the Government of Bombay, who had learned the fate of this ship, by the means of a Banian at Muscat. The owners had turned her over to the underwriters, who had appointed Messrs. Forbes their agents

at Bombay, by whose authority a Captain Loan was deputed to take the command. Mr. Maxfield was of course superseded, but, with Captain Court's permission, returned to Bombay with my dispatches for the Government there, and for his Excellency the Governor General. He also took rough drafts of our discoveries, which Captain Court had paid me the highly flattering compliment of dedicating to me. Mr. Hurst being an acting Lieutenant, I thought it would be pleasanter for him to return, than to do duty with us as a midshipman; I therefore exchanged him for an officer of the Augusta of the name of Denton, who was reported by Mr. Criddle to be a friend of his, and of whom Captain Court spoke favourably. He turned out a fine, manly lad, who had been educated at Eton.

Captain Sparks declined settling the accounts of the Alert, with which he was by no means satisfied, the expense of bringing her up, and preparing her for sea, amounting to five thousand dollars. As he was also not quite convinced, that Mr. Pringle was right in leaving Macullah in the way he did, without settling with the Nakib, he thought it his duty to return to that place. Mr. Pringle determined to accompany him in the Augusta, he having engaged Captain Bennet to return to Mocha, and convoy the trade to Bombay in August. The underwriters had sent about ten thousand rupees in presents for the Nakib; but as it was evident he had so large a sum in his hands, Captain Sparks disposed of the articles here. I purchased two telescopes, and some pieces of muslin. I again wrote fully to the Governor General respecting Arabia, and the Red Sea, and took the liberty of suggesting that Mr. Maxfield should be sent back in a small vessel, to survey the outside of the shoals from Jibbel Teir to Macowar, and the coast thence to Cosseir.

The arrival of so many English had driven the Americans from the Factory; we had to regret the absence of Captain Bancroft, but certainly it was not decorous that so large a party should live at the expense of the East India Company, as they had hitherto done, even during Mr. Pringle's absence at Macullah.

Though the Dola and I were on most friendly terms, it was not possible for him to leave off his old tricks of seducing our seamen. Lynch, a Mulatto, who was formerly Captain Vashon's cook, but who, having run away from him, was now a seaman of the Princess Augusta, and Gardner, a marine boy, were reported this morning as being in the Dola's house. I was on the Pier when I heard of it, and returning to the Factory by the Square, Gardner scrambled over a wall, and came running towards me, followed by several of the Dola's people. He conjured me to protect him, declaring that he had no intention to turn Mussulmaun; that the night before he had been drinking in the Jews' town, and that he knew not how he had been carried to the Dola's; that on awaking he had requested to be liberated, but without success, and that Lynch had endeavoured to persuade him to stay. The Dola's servants were unwilling to use force to carry him back, while I was present; I therefore got him safe into the Factory. The Dola was a little ashamed, and pretended he knew nothing of the business. He will, I hope, be soon taught the necessity of conducting himself in a different manner. The ships sailed this day, leaving me to act as Resident at Mocha.

May 19.—Messrs. Forbes having again obtained a contract from the Bombay Government, to supply them with two thousand bales of Mocha coffee, had sent one of their confidential servants, Mohammed Ali, to superintend the purchase. The Wahabee having in

a great degree cut off the supply from Mocha, Mr. Pringle determined to comply with the request of the Dola of Hodeida to send there and purchase. On Mohammed Ali's attempting to embark, he was put in irons by the Emir Bahar. I instantly sent to the Dola to demand his release as a British subject, and to ask by what right he prevented any of our nation from going where they pleased. He immediately liberated the man, who he said had been arrested by mistake; but added, that he had positive orders from the Imaum, not to permit any one to go to Hodeida; that, as he was but a servant, and must act as he was ordered, he hoped I would not be angry with him. I believe he spoke truth, and consequently felt no resentment against him; but as I considered the Imaum's orders as a violation of the neutral privileges of the British flag, I thought it my duty to send off a dow to Aden, where she would certainly overtake the Alert, communicating the whole business to the Governor General of India and Mr. Duncan. It would seem, from the conduct of the Imaum, that he considered Hodeida as lost to him; or determined, in spite of all difficulties, to keep up the old custom of not permitting any coffee to be exported through the Straits, except from Mocha.

The Americans by no means feel themselves bound by the orders of the Dola. There are no less than eleven vessels of this nation in the harbour; for, as each captain kept his destination a profound secret, they were not aware of the intentions of each other. The arrival of so many vessels raised the price to fifty dollars per bale, and only about one hundred and fifty bales a week are procurable, chiefly from Oudein, in consequence of the conquests of the Wahabee in the neighbourhood of Beit-el-Fakih. The Americans have a private

agreement, by which each ship purchases in rotation, according to the time of her arrival. A captain, whose turn would not arrive these ten months, sailed this morning to the northward, evidently to Hodeida, or Loheia. The adventurers of the present season will find themselves in a very different situation from their predecessors; for, independently of paying nearly double the price for their coffee, as they have only money enough to lay in half a cargo, the expenses of freight will be double also. Many have suffered even more severely, having been obliged to quit without any coffee, and to seek for a cargo elsewhere.

I do not know whether it be of much consequence, as Yemen is changing masters, that the Americans are spoiling the road of Mocha by throwing over their ballast. The evil has already become great, for there is now no clear spot, under four fathom, and at a great distance from the shore. In another season not a ship will be able to anchor in safety. Mr. Pringle spoke to the Dola about it; but he did not seem to consider it as of any consequence.

The southerly gales moderated on the 25th of April, and gave us an opportunity of getting fresh ballast on board the Panther, preparatory to her going to the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb, which I wished to examine during the present leisure time.

June 1.—Captain Court returned from his cruize, having completed his survey, and discovered more errors in Sir Home Popham's chart, than even the leaving out of Jibbel Anish had given me reason to expect. These will appear most plainly by a comparison betweent the two charts; but to those who may have no such opportunity, I will only observe, that the actual distance between the Island of Perim, and the nearest part of Africa, is ten miles and

a half, instead of sixteen, as laid down by Sir Home Popham; that the distance between the two shores in latitude 13° is only thirty-five miles, instead of fifty-two; and that there exists a shoal in that latitude, which narrows the channel to fifteen miles, and which is entirely omitted by Sir Home Popham. This latter error is as unaccountable, as it is mischievous; for the shoal lies in the direct course between the Straits and Mocha, and was actually discovered, during the expedition in the Red Sea, by the Antelope cruizer, on which she was nearly lost.

I took advantage of Mr. Pringle's absence to reform the Factory, and introduce a reformation among the Arab servants, who are the worst in the world; stealing every thing which lies in their way. Not half the articles issued for daily use at the Factory were actually employed. The meat sent away from the table vanished in a moment, so that our European servants could rarely get any. Sugar, flour, fruit, were fair plunder; even wine and pork were not safe from these harpies. They came in a morning just before breakfast, and, so soon as they had secured the remains, they disappeared, and returned again when dinner was ready. They waited at table, indeed, but it was only till the meat was removed, and the cloth taken away, when they divided the spoils. This, however, I remedied, by having the dishes placed on a side table till we had quite finished. Much dissatisfaction was at first expressed at my reformations; but I carried them through triumphantly by the assistance of the Dola, who directed that any servant, on my complaint, should be put in prison. Indeed, on every occasion, where the orders of his master left him at liberty, I uniformly found him extremely obliging.

The British Factory has a pleasant view from the upper windows, but the ruins of a house in front keep off the breeze from the lower apartments. The Dola's stables are also a great evil, from the excuse which it gives to his followers, to be lurking about the door, and endeavouring to seduce the seamen who come on shore, to go and drink at the Jews' town, which so frequently leads to desertion. The danger of fire is great, from the vicinity of these buildings, which consist of wood and mats. If once they should be in flames, it would be impossible to save the Factory and its contents, which, at some seasons, are valuable. The building itself must also be replaced by the Company, as it is obliged at present to do all repairs, paying only five hundred dollars, instead of a thousand, when the landlord took these on himself.

If the stables were removed, and the ground on which they stand, together with that of the ruined house, converted into a garden, the comfort and respectability of the Factory would be greatly increased, and the danger of seducing the seamen equally diminished. But Arabia seems too much neglected; her trade is considered as of little value, if not as an incumbrance; and her rapidly rising political consequence is overlooked. The guard of sepoys, which formerly protected the gates of the Factory, is removed, and the Resident is obliged to employ Arabs in his establishment, who are the licensed spies of the Dola. Though the consequence of Arabia, in a commercial and political view, may at length force itself on the British Government, it is improbable that Mocha will continue to be the residence of its Factor, since Aden and Loheia offer infinitely greater advantages. I hope, however, that wherever her Factory be established, it will be placed on a footing worthy of the British name.

June 3.—I received a letter from Currum Chund, saying that he had forwarded my message to the Ras Welleta Selassé, who had sent the accompanying answer. This was in Arabic, expressing his wish that I would come up myself, or send some one to him; but it seemed doubtful whether he had not confounded me with Mr. Pringle the Resident at Mocha, as the address would suit either, or rather neither, of us. As, however, I considered it an object of the greatest importance, as well as interest, to obtain some positive information of the state of a country, which during a century had been visited only by Mr. Bruce, I determined to send Mr. Salt, with such presents as I could procure at Mocha. Captain Rudland and Mr. Carter having expressed a wish to accompany Mr. Salt, I consented most willingly; and every thing was hurry and preparation for their departure, as the season was so far advanced, and it was necessary they should be back by the end of October, to take advantage of the monsoon, which is for so short a time favorable in the upper part of the Red Sea.

On consulting Captain Court and the rest of our party, it was decided that they should go up to Massowah in the Panther, to protect them from the impertinence of the Dola of Arkeko, and to give them more importance in the eyes of the natives; and that Captain Court might afterwards examine the north of Dhalac. Andrew, a renegado boy, who had formerly attempted to escape to the Fox frigate, was, nevertheless, permitted by the Dola to attend Mr. Salt as his servant. He spoke good English, Hindostané, and tolerable Arabic. An Arab, by name Hamed Chamie, was hired to act as interpreter, a very respectable man, born at Mecca, and for some time in the service of Mr. Pringle. When he applied to

H. Salt del.

Pollard Sculp.

HAMED CHAMIE.

Published May 1809. by William Miller. Albemarle Street. London.

the Dola for leave, he sent Devagé to me to ask who would be answerable for the Arab, if the natives put him in prison. I assured him he should have the same protection from the Panther that Mr. Salt and the other gentlemen had. With this he was perfectly satisfied; a proof to my mind that this protection is sufficient to insure them a safe passage to Gondar. A dow was sent off with letters for the Ras and Currum Chund, announcing my intentions.

June 15.—In the evening the Augusta returned with Mr. Pringle. I learned by a letter from Captain Sparks, that the S. W. monsoon being set in, it was unsafe to carry the ship to Macullah, which was open to that point, though admirably protected from the opposite; that they proceeded thither in their boats from Broom bay, where they anchored. The Nakib was extremely civil. He restored fifty bales of broad cloth, and other articles, to the amount of half a lac, and debited himself six thousand dollars for rice. He declared, that he had received from the ship no other goods. This was probably false, as a large quantity of blue, scarlet, and green cloth, had found its way to Mocha, where it sold for three dollars the gudge. He made a demand of five thousand five hundred dollars for the expenses of Ascari and men on board. Had Mr. Pringle staid and settled with him, it is probable a much greater proportion of the goods would have been recovered, as they were not then sold. Captain Sparks considered the Nakib's conduct as altogether meritorious for an Arab. He had given the first intelligence of the ship's being there; had professed the greatest regard for the English nation; and had tried to secure the murderers. He had willingly given the ship to Benzoni, when he arrived at Macullah alone, and unsupported: he had not stolen so much as he might have done,

and possibly not even so much as we suspected; for those about him might have plundered unknown to him. Captain Sparks, therefore, made him a present of the five hundred dollars balance, and they parted excellent friends on the 27th, when the Alert set sail for Bombay, and the Augusta for Mocha. The length of her voyage was owing to light airs, and strong adverse currents. At one time Captain Bennet feared he should be obliged to bear away for Bombay, which he wished to avoid, as the Augusta is a grab, and ill adapted for the heavy sea that breaks on the Malabar coast in the S. W. monsoon. Yet the Company's Marine Board have had three built; the Queen, Princess Royal, and Princess Augusta, though so perfectly conscious of their defects, that they are regularly laid up at Massagong during the rainy monsoon.

The waste of wine had been so great in the Factory, and on board the Alert, during our absence, that there was every reason to fear we should soon be totally destitute of every liquor, except indifferent spirit. By reducing ourselves to a short allowance, we hoped to have some till August, when possibly our wants might be relieved from Bombay, whither we had written to state our situation on board the Panther, and to request, if possible, a supply of necessaries for the ship, such as biscuit and spirits; the latter were procurable here only from Mr. Pringle, at a monstrous price, and the former at a still greater. Our boat was also nearly worn out, and several naval stores were wanting. Mr. Pringle wrote to one of the tradesmen to send a large assortment of things for the Factory, almost sufficient to load a vessel. However, in the mean time, we tried what we could procure from the Americans. One captain admitted he had ten pipes of Madeira on board, but said it was

meant for his owner's private use, and that therefore he could not venture to sell it but at a very high price, a price that would justify his violation of orders. At length he wrote to say, that on his return it would be worth at Boston six or eight dollars per gallon, but that he would let us have a cask at one thousand dollars. The impudence of this assertion in the first part of the letter, could only be equalled by the folly of sending, at the same time, a Boston newspaper, in which were the current prices of every article at that port. I there found that London Particular Madeira was between three and four dollars per gallon, after the duty was paid. It was mentioned as plentiful, and a dull sale. Now this wine certainly was not London Particular, for I knew that ten pipes of that quality were not sent to all America in the course of the year. But even if they had, the profit was most enormous; nearly three hundred pounds for what cost forty three pounds. Convinced that it was a mean attempt to take advantage of our situation, to which we had been reduced by entertaining his countrymen, I positively refused to have any thing to do with it.

A few days afterwards a Portuguese ship arrived direct from Lisbon. I made application to them, and offered the enormous price of five hundred dollars for a pipe of port. The captain very liberally answered that he had no wine for sale, but that he would give us all he could possibly spare, taking an order on Bombay for a similar quantity. What a contrast to the American!!! I respect a merchant; I consider him as one of the great props of our nation: but when every idea of honour and liberality is absorbed in the pursuit of profit, he becomes one of the most despicable of animals; and if his country should adopt his principles, it must inevitably

sink into insignificance. Of this, Holland has been an awful example; and if America does not take care, her decline will follow with still greater rapidity.

June 21.—On the 18th a brig arrived from Suez, bringing dispatches for India, from Major Misset, the British Consul General in Egypt. In his letter to Mr. Pringle, he mentioned that two French fleets had made their escape from the ports of France, and it was feared their destination might be India. He also forwarded dispatches that had arrived from Malta. However ill adapted for the sea the Augusta might be, it was thought necessary, as she was here, to send her off immediately: she sailed at four this morning. By her I wrote to my friends in England, and to Government. The Dola had received a letter from the Imaum, approving of his having stopped Mr. Forbes's servant; it now, therefore, became an act of the Government. I laid every thing before Lord Wellesley, and hoped that hewould permit me to redress the evil.

By Captain Barton, who commanded the brig, I learned that the troubles in Egypt had induced Major Misset to remove to Rosetta, but that his agent was at Cairo. He assured me that the passing to that place from Suez was as safe as it ever was. The report of there being a British army at Alexandria was false, but had originated from Lord Nelson's appearing off that place. This was a great relief to my mind, and made me look forward with pleasure to my travels in Egypt.

On the 20th Mr. Salt, and the rest of the Abyssinian party, went on board, and sailed this morning, provided with presents for the King, and Ras, and with such conveniencies for their journey as the circumstances of our situation would allow.

This morning the dow that we had sent to Massowah, and which was to have continued there, to attend Captain Court in his survey, returned with letters from the Nayib to Mr. Pringle and Devagé, and also with letters from Currum Chund to me and Mr. Pringle. In the former, beside repetitions and extraneous matter, he observed, that he did not yet wish me to send my people; that he had not given his consent to their going: and, without his permission, who could enter Habesh? For "was not he the gates of it?" That he must consult his brothers and soldiers, and would send the result by Currum Chund, who would be here next month. Currum Chund wrote and advised me to wait till his arrival, when my messengers might return with him; that in the mean time, he would arrange every thing with the Nayib; but that if I sent them now, the Nayib would want five or six hundred dollars for permission.

The Panther had sailed, but the wind was contrary. I sent off a cutter early, but by neglect the boat was not ready till it was too late. The American boat tried to overtake them, but in vain. The loss of the dow would have been a serious inconvenience to Captain Court, and it was advisable he should know my sentiments on this new occurrence; I therefore sent Unus after him with letters, who would probably overtake him before he reached Massowah, and would stay with him. I stated, that it was evidently a trick, of the Dola of Arkeko, to get money from the messengers, under the idea that they would arrive there in a dow unprotected; that I thought, when they saw the Panther, every thing would be well; but that, if not, I recommended their urging to the Nayib, that if he were the gates of Habesh, I was the gates of Massowah; and that if he shut the one against me, I could shut the other, by not

letting a single dow enter the place. I left it to their discretion how they should act; but said I would give no present till my messengers returned. I felt perfectly easy, knowing that Captain Court would act in unison with Mr. Salt, in any transactions which might occur. We had this morning an alarm of the Wahabee, but it proved to be only some plundering Bedowee who had wounded a man at a village close to the town. The Dola immediately set off with his horse and infantry, but the robbers had fled.

July 5.—Yesterday was celebrated by the Americans as the anniversary of their Independence. On this occasion they obtained the Dola's permission to hoist their colours on their house. Mr. Pringle asked the Dola if an American factory were established here, and whether the Imaum had entered into any treaty with that nation. He said no; that the Imaum knew nothing about it; that he had permitted it for one day only. That, as a nation, they knew not America; but that the merchants here had promised to bring, next year, the proper presents from their Government to the Imaum and Dola, and to establish an American Factory and Resident. That the Imaum wished to encourage all traders coming to his port. He asked Mr. Pringle if he wished it not to be done. He said that he could have no objection to it, or to the Americans trading here; he only wished to know if they had a Factory, that he might communicate it to his Government. I was much amused by a few merchants making promises for their Government, which they must know would never be performed. Mr. Jefferson and his party are not so fond of trade, or Massachusetts, as to put the nation to the expense of one hundred thousand dollars to serve them.

July 10.—The alarms respecting an attack of Mocha by the Sheriffe of Abou Arish gained ground. The Banian at Loheia had written to Devagé to give him notice of it, and advise him to be on his guard. The Sheriffe was said to have at least fifteen thousand soldiers. We had then at Mocha about four hundred and fifty, as some arrived with an escort of coffee from Oudein on the 7th, and were detained. A few more came in on the 10th, wretchedly looking animals, and rather injurious than serviceable, as provisions were extremely scarce. If the Wahabee had surrounded the town, in a week there would have been an absolute famine among the common people. Fruit had been very scarce, and of grapes we had had no supply during the last fortnight. The weather had been extremely sultry; calm in the day time; the thermometer 90° to 95°; at night occasionally a strong breeze from the north. One night we had a wind as hot as at Lucknow, which drove us all from the upper apartments to the rooms that could be shut up. It lasted about an hour. Hadje Abdullah told us it was the true Simoom, which blows all day at Mecca during the summer months. My health was much better than it was last year.

July 16th.—On the 15th in the evening the Wahabee carried off seventy camels, loaded with coffee and goods, between this place and Moosa. The garrison was immediately ordered out, but returned the next morning, bringing in with them only one lame camel. The party they went after being too powerful for them to attack, they contrived to go a wrong road. Two Ascari were put in prison for cowardice.

July 18.—The Dola's new soldiers quarrelled with him, and marched off. There had been no provision of grain in the bazar for

some days, and the people were in the utmost distress. The American Captain, Elkins, who was in Mocha last year, arrived on the 10th. He found the markets strangely altered for the worse, and knew not what to do. He brought some pumps for Mr. Pringle, which the Dola refused to let pass; a black renegado having informed him, that they were instruments used by the English for drowning a country. He said such things were never seen there before, and he must write to the Imaum on the subject.

July 26. — The weather for the last three weeks had been very pleasant, the nights being perfectly cool. The wind had been chiefly west, which comes from Habesh, where the tropical rains are in all their force, and had then to pass over the sea. If it change to the east for half an hour, the heat becomes very great. It is nearly as bad from the south, there not being a sufficiency of sea to cool it after passing the burning deserts of Africa. On the 24th we had a heavy squall in the night, when our friends the Portuguese lost an anchor.

The Dola sent above half the garrison a few days before to Moosa, to bring in juwarry. They brought thirty camels' load, which vanished in a moment. He charged three dollars and a half escort money for each camel. This is one way of living on the distress of the country. The poor people have nothing but dates and fish, and not plenty of these.

Yesterday the Portuguese ship Rosalia sailed. Captain da Costa supplied us with five quarter-casks of Port, and took an order on Bombay for the same quantity. He also gave me some oil and some sweetmeats from Rio de Janeiro. I wrote by him to my friends in Europe, to the Governor General, and to Mr. Duncan, to whom

I particularly recommended all the officers. We sent by her eight hundred bales of coffee for Mr. Forbes, and took dollars to the amount of fifty thousand on an advantageous exchange to them; so that they would be no losers by their touching here.

The Americans buy their coffee without cleaning, and some of the worst quality; what we take is good. Six ships were there at that time, and Captain Elkins assured me six more were on their passage. He made last year two hundred per cent.

The Naqueda of a dow from Massowah said that seventeen days ago the Panther was there; that at first the Dola made objections to the gentlemen going into Habesh, but that every thing was settled. They had agreed to pay what was customary, and he had made himself responsible for their safety. The soldiers, he added, were all ready to escort them. From this account I hoped they were on their way. It accorded too well with what we knew to be fact, to be all an invention.

July 31.—The Dola sent to prison every dealer in grain, till they should pay him two dollars each for the active exertions of himself and soldiers, in keeping off the Wahabee!!!

On the 28th it rained so heavily as to penetrate the upper apartments, and drive us below. The Dola's stables, which were thatched, sunk under it. The lightning was vivid, and the thunder loud; a dow was struck, and some damage done near the town. It had, for these three last days, being extremely close in the morning, till about eleven, when the sea breeze set in. After the rain the thermometer was at 80°. I was unwell with a cold, a complaint which every one of us had experienced from the sudden changes in the temperature of the air.

On the 30th, another American, Captain Lee, arrived. He sailed before Captain Elkins, and therefore brought no news, but was so kind as to share with us his Madeira. He thought there were fourteen more ships coming here!

The Emir Bahar, who had offended every one as well as me, had been turned out of office. The soldiers were again gone to Moosa to bring in a cargo of provisions.

The Dola had notified to Captain Lee that the Imaum had appointed a brother of Seid Mahommed Akil, agent to the Americans, and a Banian, to transact their business, having prohibited the others from selling to them under a penalty of five thousand dollars. This was partly done to annoy Mr. Pringle, but still more to benefit himself, by the large presents he exacts from the Seids. Captain Elkins had brought this on the Americans, by his requesting that some one, besides Devagé, might be permitted to buy for them. He thought they should, by having an option of brokers, get it cheaper than from Mr. Pringle, who let them have it at thirty-five dollars, instead of which it was now up at fifty-two; and they were more likely to suffer from a monopoly than ever. The price was not likely to fall, and the trade was exposed to ruin. The Dola sent to tell me what had been done: I answered, that I was very happy to hear it, as I disliked the Imaum, for his conduct to the English, and, that this act would punish him, by ruining his trade. He replied, that he hoped I was mistaken; but if not, it was no fault of his, as he had positive orders from Sana on the subject. I desired Captain Benzoni to ask him, in confidence, respecting Mr. Pringle's pumps. He declared, he thought them very dangerous things; that all the brass on the inside could be meant for no good. Captain Benzoni explained to

him their real use; but he said he had written to Sana, and hoped, if the Imaum bought them, that Captain Benzoni would go and put them up.

August 2.—Another dow arrived from Massowah in fifteen days. The Naqueda said, that the English gentlemen had not set off for Habesh, but that the mules were come down for them, and that they had paid the Nayib four hundred dollars.

An escort returned on the 2d of August with juwarry and coffee. Mr. Pringle supplied our servants with the first at prime cost; as it was almost impossible for them to purchase it in the bazar.

August 5.—Our Suakin friend, Emir Mohammed, arrived on the 5th with letters from Captain Court and Mr. Salt, which were on the whole satisfactory. He also brought a letter from the Nayib. Captain Court had been extremely civil to him, and had saluted him on his coming on board; with which he was highly pleased. They were in great distress at Massowah for provisions. The Emir dined with us on the 5th, and brought eight of his friends, who were very little at their ease. He said he had dined with us before, and was quite comfortable; so it seemed, for he devoured a prodigious quantity. He had brought slaves and gold. Since we saw him he had been at Sanaar. He told me that country was in great confusion; that there had been four different sovereigns within three years: when deposed they are put to death, as Bruce describes, by one of their relations. He said, he could not be responsible for the safety of an European, who should go with him, as none have ever travelled that way, and the people are wild. I determined to pay him every attention, to conciliate the friendship of his powerful tribe. We had several showers in the course of the day.

August 15.—The Panther was in sight on the 15th to the southward, but the wind being fresh from the north, and the current very strong in the same direction, she made but little way on that day, she was obliged to come to an anchor, just as she reached the sand heads. Captain Court sent on shore letters from Mr. Salt, dated from Dixan, which gave me the pleasing intelligence of his having reached in safety that frontier of Habesh. Captain Benzoni has gone down for Aden to try to purchase coffee.

August 24.—Captain Court landed on the 16th.* On the 17th another American ship arrived, commanded by Captain Rowe, whom I had seen before. He fortunately brought some flour for Mr. Pringle, which he turned over to the Panther. Knowing how very anxious Mr. Salt must be to hear of us, and wishing to write to the Ras respecting his safe return, I spoke to Unus Barilla on the subject, who offered to convey a letter from a town by Amphila, where he had a wife, without its going through any part of the Nayib's territories. It was an important object to find another way to Habesh; I therefore agreed with him, and he was to set off that evening.

August 26.—Seid Mahommed Akil arrived, with two very fine vessels, from the Isle of France on the 24th: one is the Pigeon, an English prize; the other a country ship, the Peggy, which he purchased on the Malabar coast. The Seid is a descendant of Hossein-ebn-Ali, by Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, and carries on trade. He hoists a green flag with a red border. I could not comprehend him. He had a quantity of arms and ammunition on board. His captains were French, and it was said, that he had brought assurances from the Isle, that a French resident would

* For an account of his voyage, vide Appendix.

arrive in October. Last year he was a violent Wahabee, but this year he declared himself merely a merchant, and of no party whatsoever. He has either sold, or given to the Dola twelve short six pounders, and some shot, for a new fort which he has erected to the north of the town, and to which he means to retire in case of a siege. I suspected the ship and all that it contained to be French property, and that the Arab flag was only a cover.

I was excessively hurt by the intelligence that an American boy, who had entered in the Panther from another ship, and of whom Captain Court had a very high opinion, had run to the Dola's house. He had by an accident broken his arm, in consequence of which he had remained on shore during the last trip, and been treated with the greatest kindness. His conduct therefore was unaccountable. Captain Court applied immediately to have permission to see him, which was granted, but in the Dola's presence. On first addressing the boy, the Dola interrupted Captain Court, by observing, that he had no business to say any thing, but to put the simple question, whether or no the boy were inclined to turn Mussulmaun. This Captain Court resented in high terms, and persevered in pointing out to him the madness of which he was guilty. The old Italian renegado attempted to answer his arguments; but was instantly silenced by Captain Court in the most peremptory terms. The lad, without hesitation, consented to return to us, on which they tried to hustle him out of the room; but the Captain declared he should go with him, and immediately quitted the house.

August 28.—We had another dispute with the Dola. A Lascar had left the ship, but was met by the Serang, who, with an officer, Mr. Denton, was conveying him to the boat, when at the gate he

claimed protection from the guard, which was immediately granted, and he was rescued from the officer. I immediately sent to the Dola, representing that this Indian subject of ours was already a Mussulmaun, and that consequently the usual plea of conversion could not justify his keeping him from us. He sent in reply, " that he would protect every body, who wished for his protection, and that I might send word of it to the Government of India." I answered, " that I would do so ; for, that I considered his answer as insolent, and such as no servant of the Imaum ought to have dared to send to the Governor of India. I can only attribute the alteration in the Dola's language, to the confidence inspired by the information brought by the Seid from the Isle of France.

September 1.—Devagé's dow sailed for India: by her I wrote an account of the Dola's conduct. In a conversation with the Bas Kateb, he justified the measure of taking our men, and said, that if the Governor of India wrote to them about it, they should only answer, " it was their custom, and they would do it."

From the multitude of ships of the Americans, I really believe they think them a greater nation than the English.

Unus's dow returned; he wrote by his son a joint letter to me, Captain Court, and Mr. Pringle, representing that he had sent off my dispatches, and that the man had promised to be back by the 5th of the next moon. He, however, added, that he had promised to pay him fifty dollars, and could not return till we sent it him. This was certainly an impudent attempt of our friend Unus, as I had before paid him for the whole. I therefore told his son I would not give a penny more, with which he appeared perfectly satisfied, and no more claims were urged.

We were again alarmed by the incursions of the Wahabee, who were certainly in great force. The road to Moosa was unsafe; and why this place was not attacked, I could not conceive.

We had so many delays in passing provisions at the gate for the use of the ship, that Captain Court applied to the Bas Kateb. He declared he knew nothing of it; assured us he would speak to the Dola and Emir Bahar, admitting it was positively contrary to the Imaum's engagement, by which all provisions and stores were to pass free to the Factory and British ships. He hoped it would not happen again. The Dola was angry about the boy's leaving him, and took this method of showing his resentment.

September 6.—Gardner, whom I have before mentioned, and another white man, nearly fifty years of age, ran away to the Dola's. Captain Court sent to the Dola, but he was invisible, and could receive no message. On the 6th the Hadje obtained an audience, and was told by the Dola, that he had found these men so determined to become Mussulmauns, that he made them so yesterday. This is with them illegal, as three days are allowed; and it is necessary that a proper examination should take place, to prove their firm determination, and, that they should be instructed in the principles of the religion they wish to embrace. Here, however, the fear of Captain Court's inducing them to return, outweighed the Dola's sense of duty, and he violated his own laws to secure two proselytes.

September 11.—Captain Court sailed on the 10th to survey a part of the opposite coast. Captain Lee and another American also sailed for Bengal, since the price of coffee here rendered any hope of profit out of the question; the cessation of the English

purchases having lowered the markets only to ninety-eight Mocha dollars. The Americans get between two and three hundred bales per week. The whole quantity sold at Mocha between August twelvemonth and last August, was twelve thousand bales. I wrote to Lord Wellesley by Captain Lee, stating all that had passed with the Dola.

On the 10th all the guns were fired to celebrate the raising of the siege of Sana. We never heard here that it had been attacked. It was not the Wahabee that were beaten, but some Bedowee tribes, who inhabit the hills, and are a brave and hardy race, that have had claims on the Imaum since the time, they assisted in liberating the country from the Turkish yoke. Their loss, by the Dola's account, amounted to twenty killed; the Imaum's loss was not mentioned. Most people believed it all a fiction to raise money; as the Dola generally, on those occasions, levies contributions for the expense the Imaum has been at in protecting his subjects.

September 13.—The weather for some days had considerably changed. It was frequently calm, and easterly winds have blown; we had in the morning a southerly light air, which gradually moved to the west by the middle of the day, to the north in the evening, and round by the E. to S. in the course of the night. These light airs and calms on the 12th, saved the town of Mocha. As I was in bed that night, I was alarmed by a fire which consumed thirty or forty thatched houses, close to the American Factory. If the wind had blown from the south or west, the whole town would have been consumed; but as it was a perfect calm, our fears were over in a few hours. Some Samaulies exerted themselves in extinguishing the fire, in order to save their vessels, which were lying

dry on the other side of the wall. The flames were stopped by the stone houses, as these people drove out the window frames, and kept pouring water on the walls. The Arabs did nothing but look on, with the Dola at their head.

September 17.—On the 16th another American sailed with half a cargo, having no more money. Burns, a seaman, who had run away from an American, and turned Mussulmaun, applied to my servant to get him off. I consented, and Captain Barton was so good as to send his boat, and take him at night on board the brig. Thus the Dola loses his converts as fast as he gets them; for, of nearly one hundred that have turned within these five years, there are now only five remaining. Early in the morning we had a slight shock of an earthquake; it was single, and seemed to proceed from the east to the west.

September 20.—On the 18th Seid Akil sailed to the northward; for what purpose I could not conjecture. I heard he had been proposing to some of the Samaulies to assist him in getting possession of some place opposite to build a town; but this was probably only a pretext to conceal his real intentions. He must have had some secret plans, for it could never answer to keep a vessel of eight hundred tons, like the Peggy, in the Red Sea, a whole season, for the purposes of trade; particularly as she had nothing on board but ammunition and arms. The Wahabee dows infest Camaran, and are continually cruizing off Jidda. Some dows that sailed from this place returned.

On the evening of the 19th, I was taxed by an Arab, who spoke English, with an intention of taking Mocha: it was done in a laughing way, and I replied in the same manner, that it was not worth having; and that I would not have it if they would give it

to me. This, however, confirmed what I had before heard, that the people in general attributed to me intentions hostile to the place.

Another fire broke out about eleven in a stone house, and partly consumed it. The wind was fresh, and had the flames caught one house of thatch, the whole bazar must have been destroyed, as it was close to it, and built of the most combustible materials. Immediately after dinner we were nearly smothered by a sand storm from the east. It was not so terrible as the great north-wester at Lucknow, but no object could be distinguished at a distance of twenty yards. It blew very fresh; a few drops of rain fell towards the end; which sensibly cooled the air. Devagé said it was the most violent he had experienced in eleven years, during which he had resided here.

Captain Court arrived this day, having finished his intended survey. He found Antelope shoal very different from what it was laid down. Assab is no cape, but a very lofty mountain, nearly forty miles inland. A very strong southerly current ran through the larger Straits of Bab-el-mandeb.

Captain Barton sailed for Jidda with a cargo. I wrote to my friends in England, and inclosed my letters to Major Missett, to whom I also sent copies of Lord Wellesley's dispatches to Mr. Jones at Bagdad, and of the Governor of Bombay's letter to Mr. Lock, who was appointed to succeed Major Missett, but died before his arrival. I requested his assistance to reach Cairo from Suez, and recommunicated the wants of the Panther. The wind was from the south, so that the monsoon might be considered as set in. The heat was greatly diminished.

September 25.—The Dola sent me a present of two baskets of

grapes. This attention, after the late disputes, I attributed to a report in circulation, that the Capitan Pacha had arrived with a strong force in Egypt, and he possibly suspected that my return and stay here, had some connection with this event. There was another fire in the middle of this day. Captain Court with his boat's crew, and the Americans with theirs, saved the town by their exertions. A large number of thatched huts were consumed, and the tower by the wicket gate was once on fire, but was extinguished: a considerable quantity of gunpowder was said to be in the building. The Dola was not there, and seems to care little about an evil, by which he does not suffer, but on the contrary rather gains, for he has a quantity of poles belonging to him, which he in consequence sells at an advanced price.

September 29. — From the 24th, to the 28th, the winds were again northerly, but on the 28th they returned to the south. The nights had been calm and sultry; on the same day we had another fire, which only consumed three houses, and at night a man was sent to prison, said to have been caught in the attempt to set fire to the Samaulie town. The steward of the Panther, who had been degraded on account of the deficiency of rice, ran away to the Dola's, as did the black cook of the officers, and two American seamen.

Mr. Denton, in looking for some of the boat's crew in the Jews' town, met with Gardner and some others of the renegadoes drinking. Gardner abused him very much, and threatened others of the officers. We immediately sent to the Dola, who, in the presence of the Hadje, told the Captain of the fort, commanding the renegadoes, that if the smallest complaint were again made, he would

not only put the offender in prison, but flog him severely. The American captains were refused all access to the Dola respecting their deserters, and were absolutely thrust down the stairs by his attendants. I learned from Hodeida, that the American ship was still there, that she had been in danger from the piratical dows, and that the Dola sent troops on board to protect her.

October 3.—I had notice from a renegado that one of the boys ashore, to assist in packing shells, meant to run away. We sent him on board with some boxes, where we designed that he should be kept. He had no idea that we were acquainted with his intentions. During my tedious confinement, I had amused myself in employing a great number of Arabs in collecting shells for me on the beach. I paid them generally a few komassis for their trouble, and a day rarely passed without their bringing me a new species. Mr. Macgie and I had packed them with infinite labour, and I now began to send them on board.

The custom-house officers wished to unpack all the boxes, to which I positively objected: they could hardly be persuaded that six large boxes were filled with articles they thought of no value. They at length took a few shells out of some of the boxes to show the Dola.

We had a slight shock of an earthquake on the 2d, in the morning; it lasted about a minute, with a tremulous motion.

Mr. Macgie heard to day from Captain Barton; he had been driven back to Hodeida when beyond Jibbel Teir, by strong north-westers. The American ship was still there, but had only procured fifty bales of three hundred and seventy pounds in the last two months, and for those she paid sixty-four German crowns. She

had but three hundred and fifty bales, and lost her season. The place has suffered severely from the Wahabee, but still belongs to the Imaum. Nothing but brackish water was to be had there. An old Portuguese fled to the Dola.

October 5th.—In a conversation yesterday evening with Seid Akil's brother, he told me that the Dola was not very well pleased with his old Portuguese. He said he was of no use, and cost four dollars a month. The Seid declared that it was contrary to their books to make Mussulmauns in this way. They could never be so in reality. I replied, that the Dola was very good to pay them four dollars a month till they had learned the language, when the good ones came back to the Europeans, and the others ran away to the Wahabee or Turks, to fight against him. The conduct of the Arabs towards me was totally changed within this fortnight; not an Arab of any consequence met me without making his salaam, which I always returned, but never gave first. I sent on board yesterday, three six dozen chests of shells, and two larger boxes of beautiful madrapore. The winds were south, and the weather was cooler.

October 10.—The nights for some time have been extremely sultry, and the wind light and variable. Yesterday was the festival of Sheik Abdurrab, who, by his corpse, has sanctified the island on which the southern fort is built. At nine the colours were hoisted on all the forts, and soon afterwards, to the astonishment of all the inhabitants of the Factory, the Americans also hoisted their colours. This compliment to a Mussulmaun saint was novel in a Christian power; but it was carried still farther; for on the Dola's departing to offer up his prayers at the Sheik's tomb, every ship saluted;

some with two, some with three, and some with five guns: some twice, some three times. I was too much disgusted to speak to them myself on the occasion, but on their being laughed at by some of our officers, they replied, that they did not know what the colours were hoisted for; it was the Dola's doing; and was not he master of the roads? I should not have cared for their degradation, had I not been afraid that the natives might have taken these Americans for Europeans and Christians, in consequence of which we might have shared in the contempt they appeared so anxious to acquire.

October 12.—On the 11th, at night, Fowler, whom I have before mentioned as having run away from Captain Keys, went on board the Panther, as my servant. He was anxious to escape from the wretched life of a renegado, and applied to me to take him. As he understood Arabic, he might be as useful as Abdallah was the last voyage. They were equally deserters from the Company's service, and, if it do not choose to reclaim them, I could have no scruple in employing them in my service. There were many circumstances in his case which rendered him an object of compassion, and his conduct in Arabia was good. He was to have gone up to Sana in a few days to be presented to the Imaum. More pains had been taken with his education than were ever before bestowed upon any one. The Dola had declared that he would not lose him for a thousand dollars; it was therefore, I must confess, a particular gratification to me, to find that he was punished for his inhospitality.

Unus Barilla returned on the 11th, without the letters from Mr. Salt. This was owing to a mistake in writing to him to be here the 15th of the moon, instead of the 15th of the month. He brought

an unpleasant report of the Ras's being engaged in repelling an attack of the Galla, and Mr. Salt's being still at Adowah. His account was so confused, that I did not give it much credit.

October 16.—On the 15th, we agreed with Unus to accompany us up the Red Sea for one hundred and fifty dollars per month. He begged us not to apply to the Cadi for a regular agreement, as the Dola made him pay one dollar for every ten he received from us. We hired six Samaulies to act as Lascars on board the Panther, in preference to Arabs. The wind was to-day south the first time for many days. So late a northerly monsoon has not been known in the memory of man; generally in the middle of September it changes decidedly to the south.

October 22.—On the 21st we had another fire close to the Factory, which alarmed us so much that the next day we were pulling down all our mat buildings on the roof. They were become the less necessary, as the southerly wind had continued since the 16th, and made a difference of seven degrees in the thermometer; in the morning it was at 84°. The nights were very cold. The change had been so sudden as to make us all unwell.

October 28.—We were preparing for our departure on the 1st of November. We had grown wise by our late trip, and Captain Court had at my request laid in white Surat cloth to barter for live stock, and some better articles to give to the Sheiks or other chiefs, who might oblige us. We had also taken in snuff, which was before much enquired after.

The officers of the Sheriffe's ship paid us a visit. The Naqueda is a Seid, and offered us every assistance on our arrival at Jidda. They said, they would come on board the moment we arrived

there. As they might have it in their power to serve us greatly, I gave the Seid a telescope. I was happy to learn by them that the Capitan Pacha was at Alexandria, where he would stay some time. He recalled the old Pacha of Cairo, and gave that office to the chief of the Arnauts, who cut off three Beys and two hundred and fifty Mamelukes. He told us the roads between Cairo and Suez were perfectly safe. I heard all the renegadoes here meant to go with him.

November 1.—We received positive information from the Banians, that Seid Mahommed Akil and his Frenchmen had paid a visit to the Sheriffe at Loheia, and presented him with four thousand dollars worth of presents, in the name of the French nation; at the same time requesting permission to establish a Factory on the Island of Camaran. This island produces wood, water, and salt. Its situation is good for watching all vessels that go up or down the Red Sea, but would be of no use in a commercial view. The French seemed to intend attacking Egypt by the assistance of the Wahabee. Mr. Pringle proposed going up there when we sailed and joining us at Massowah, to communicate the result of his inquiries. At my request he also intended sending an express to India with the news. There can be no doubt that the guns left here by the Seid were a present from the French to the Imaum.

The Dola hearing that I wanted to buy a spear and shield of the cavalry, sent me his as a present; together with one of their battle-axes. They were all handsomely ornamented with silver. I sent to say, I would either pay him a formal visit the evening of my departure, if he would keep the gates open for me to go out afterwards, or I would pay him a visit sans cérémonie this evening. He preferred the latter; and we all went accordingly. The people

at his doors said, he expected only me and Mr. Pringle; but we all got up at last. He was, I believe, disappointed in not being able to talk on business. He enquired respecting the distance of England, how far I went by land, and how we travelled in Europe. The conversation then turned on Yemen. He informed me, that beyond Sana iron ore was found in sufficient abundance to supply all the upper country. It is smelted with wood, and is very soft, white, and tenacious. It is used for the rings of hookah snakes; and has the quality of not being corroded by smoke. There is also lead ore, but it is brittle, and of no use. He wished to present me with a piece of silver cloth manufactured at Sana, which I accepted.

He was chewing the buds of a plant which the Arabs call Kaad. It is not unpleasant, rather bitter, and aromatic. He informed me that it is brought in weekly, from the hills, to the amount of two hundred dollars. The Imaum has a large duty on it. On parting, he expressed the usual anxiety for my welfare.

November 3.—We had been delayed, that Mr. Pringle might accompany us to Ait, the place where Unus's tribe live, and where we expected Mr. Salt's letters. Mr. Pringle was to go thence to Loheia, and join us again at Massowah. Mr. Pringle being ready, I went on board on the 3d. It blew fresh, though we waited till dark, as it usually lulled in the evening. We were attended to the pier by an innumerable crowd of beggars. Captain Court and I gave a scramble of komassis, and to our friends a few half and quarter dollars. Seid Daud, the Sheriffe's captain, came to wish us a good voyage, but could not reach us for the crowd. At midnight the breeze freshened to a gale, but Unus and Mr. Pringle came astern in their dows.

November 4.—At four we weighed anchor in a stiff gale and heavy sea. At eight we were up with Jibbel Anish, when the weather and sea both moderated. We sailed along very pleasantly till dark, when we anchored. Mr. Pringle came in at the same time, but went on shore, close to Ait.

November 5.—The night was very pleasant and moderate. Mr. Pringle and Unus came on board in the morning. No letters from Mr. Salt, nor any intelligence; we therefore determined to make the best of our way to Massowah. Mr. Pringle had a very rough passage; he came between the Abail Islands, and the main, in a passage not wide enough for any thing except dows. His Naqueda told him, that on the northern Abail was found a stone, which he described as being like green glass. He promised me to visit it, and procure some, as the description suits the Opsian stone, which is probably found in many of the sandy islands of this part of the coast. Mr. Salt found some on Dhalac. At any rate I cannot suppose this the bay named by the ancients after that stone, for it is a fine one, with good anchorage, and by no means filled with sand, as the other is represented to be, neither will it agree with the distances in the Periplûs. Ait is a wretched village of huts. The high hills behind it were once, we were told, part of Habesh. We weighed at one, and with a strong breeze rounded the northern Codalie rock, which forms the boundary of the bay on that side, as the southern does on the other. We then had a free wind and an excellent coast, along which we sailed all night in perfect security.

November 6.—At day light we were in sight of Saboo and Moora, which Unus, who kept well up with us, called Habou-beer;

at twelve we were opposite Howakil, with a pleasant breeze; we passed Antelope point at sun-set, and immediately bore up for Massowah, in a direction that would clear the shoals at the extremity of Valentia. At nine we were alarmed by getting into a quarter less three, when nearly four miles N. of it; we immediately stood to the eastward, and cleared the shoal, which seems to be detached. We anchored close to Massowah harbour.

November 7. — At day-light we tried to make the harbour, but the land wind did not permit us to enter till twelve. Unus had been on shore, and immediately came off to us with the unexpected, but highly pleasing intelligence, that Mr. Salt, and our other friends, were on the road near Arkeko, and would be with us this day. As he accompanied the intelligence with a demand of buxys, we suspected his veracity, and desired him to tell Currum Chund we wanted him on board. A man of the Nayib's came off to deliver his master's compliments, from whom we learned that the Nayib did not wish Currum Chund to come to us. I sent Unus again to insist on it, and Fowler went with him. The Nayib now said he might come, but Currum Chund himself refused, saying that he had made nothing by the English; that he was out of pocket by Mr. Salt, and by the horse and mule he had given Mr. Pringle; and, in short, that he did not choose to come. I immediately suspected that he was afraid of our resentment, now that Mr. Salt was so near, and would explain his real conduct, which I always suspected to be bad, in the Habesh business. The Nayib sent many professions of regard, but begged we would not land, as the Ascari were very angry with us. Soon afterwards Mr. Salt arrived, attended by Captain Rudland, Mr. Carter, and the Baharnegash of Dixan. He had also with him a

servant of the Ras. They all came on board, when we saluted Mr. Salt with eleven guns; this the Baharnegash mistook for our firing on the town, and conjured us to stop. It was with some difficulty we explained to him, through the double interpretation of Andrew, and a Massowah boy, who spoke Tigré, what the cause really was. I received him as he deserved, for his attentions to our friends, with every mark of respect. He drank wine and ate sweetmeats. We sent Hamed Chamie on shore to provide every thing for him, and pay his expenses while he staid. We ourselves examined with the greatest eagerness the drawings Mr. Salt had made in the country, and were never tired of asking him questions.

November 14.—Till this morning we were engaged in preparing dispatches for India, and in arranging for Mr. Carter's and our Arab servants return to Mocha. For this purpose we hired a dow to Hodeida, whence they will proceed by land. They sailed this morning. I wrote to his Excellency the Marquis Wellesley, and Mr. Duncan, giving a short account of Mr. Salt's expedition. The Ras Welleta Selassé had sent a letter for his Excellency, which I also forwarded.

The Sabbath of Habesh commences at sun-set. On the Saturday evening the Baharnegash was on board, and as soon as the sun went down, asked leave to say his prayers. He turned to the east, and in a kind of chant addressed himself to the Deity, and a very long list of saints. His people occasionally joined him. He then prostrated himself three times, calling on God. He performed the whole in a very decorous manner.

The Nayib's conduct was such as greatly to displease me. He pleaded that he himself wished to do every thing that was kind

and proper, but that his Ascari were very angry with us; and he begged I would not then land; but that when the ship returned, every thing should be settled to our satisfaction. A fellow struck two of the boys who rowed the boat ashore with Hamed Chamie. The Nayib sent for them, and begged they would not tell me, in consequence of which, I did not hear of it till some days afterwards, when I was assured the man was in prison; I could therefore take no notice of it. Our old friend the Dola of Dhalac paid us a visit on board. We made him several presents. He was ever steady to us; nor could the Nayib dissuade him from supplying the Panther with every thing she wanted during her last voyage. When on board during the gale of wind off Daguera, he owned to Captain Court, that he had received instructions not to do so. The Nayib thought he could drive away the Panther by depriving her of water and fresh provisions. This is the only act of the Nayib that proved any disinclination in himself towards us, for at Dhalac he is absolute master. Some excuse may be made for him, vexed and tormented as he always was by his brothers and Ascari, whenever the vessel appeared. The Baharnegash used all his influence to induce me, not to quarrel with the Nayib. He went on his knees to me, and embraced my feet, nor would he rise till I had promised I would not fire on the town. I told him I felt it was a gross insult to refuse me permission to land; that the conduct of the Ascari was so reprehensible to Mr. Salt, whom they had attempted to rob, that they ought at least to be punished, and the more so, as we had ever acted towards the whole tribe in the most friendly manner. He said it was very true; that the Nayib himself was a very good man, but the people about him were great rascals,

and ruled him in every thing. As I cared but little about the landing, compassion induced me not to drive things to an extremity, which might have ended in bloodshed; but I am convinced that no friendship can exist between them and us, till they are taught by dear bought experience, that it is humanity, and not fear, which prevents our resenting their insults.

Currum Chund's conduct has been such as to preclude the possibility of employing him; I therefore had recourse to a Mussulmaun merchant, Hadje Hassan Ben Mohammed Anja. This man was recommended to Mr. Salt by Pacha Abdallah, who is frequently mentioned by him in his tour to Antalou, as an active friend, and greatly in the Ras's confidence. From him I learned, that, independently of their anger, at Mr. Salt's having escaped so well from them, the Ascari were really alarmed by an idea that I was going on to Jidda to procure for myself the sovereignty of Massowah, from the expected Turkish Pacha, and that the English would garrison the island. He said that the Nayib had never received his investiture as Aga of the Ascari, which rendered these people more insolent, as he had no legal authority over them. I pity the poor man; but he is still to blame individually in the transactions respecting Mr. Salt.

The Baharnegash visited us every day. We worked the guns for him, and made the Sepoys go through their exercise. He was much astonished, and delighted, and said that twelve such men would enable the Ras to beat the Galla. I represented to him that the arms were procurable from the English in abundance, if the trade could be opened. He would not eat with us, but drank spirits or wine, and was much pleased with sweatmeats. He was astonished

at the number of pieces of china on the table at breakfast and dinner, and always counted them. He was in high spirits, and seemed greatly pleased with the presents we made him, which consisted of a fine piece of kincaub, one hundred dollars in money, a razor, some china sweatmeats, coffee, snuff, and a number of other little articles. He told us that he had always supposed all the articles brought to Massowah were made in Arabia, but he now found they came first from us. The Ras had sent me his own knife, spear, and shield, and a very fine piece of Habesh cloth; in return I presented him with my silver chourie, an article of great use in Habesh, a bottle of lavender water, of which I heard he was very fond, and a pair of razors.

Nathaniel Pierce, who had accompanied Mr. Salt, was induced by the Ras to stay in the country. Should any connexion take place between Habesh and India, his being there, and understanding the language, will be advantageous. Mr. Salt had left him every thing he could spare, and we sent him several other articles which he had mentioned in his letters. I also procured from Captain Court two of the ship's muskets, some powder, flints, and ball. He had a gun, so that he was the best armed man in Habesh. I wrote to Mr. Pringle to procure me six more, in consequence of the Ras's promise to give him a district when he had six matchlocks. He is a clever fellow, and will, I have no doubt, do well. He had several female protectors, and they have as much power in Habesh as elsewhere. He draws a little, which pleased the priests, for whom he manufactured saints in abundance. I sent him some money, and secured him more, should he wish to leave the country. I intrusted every thing to Hadje Hassan to be sent to Pacha Abdallah,

as the safest conveyance. The Baharnegash declared to, me in the most solemn manner, that he would protect Pierce with his life. I also sent Pacha Abdallah a handsome present of kincaub, requesting his friendship for this poor fellow: from the same motive I gave another to Hadje Hassan himself, who, in an equally solemn manner, promised to be his friend. I have great hopes of this man's ultimately increasing our knowledge of the interior of Africa. He meant to return by Senaar; he might then be induced to join the kafla to Tombucto, for which he is well qualified by his knowledge of Arabic, and by his having conformed to the religion of Mohammed, and knowing their prayers perfectly.

The Ras had given Mr. Salt three mules, and he had purchased five more; so that I had now eight to dispose of. Formerly the Baharnegash had given Mr. Salt three; I now therefore gave him his choice of the same number. I sent two to Pierce; one I gave to Guebra Selassé, the Ras's man, another to Hamed Chamie, and the eighth I sent to the Dola of Mocha, to put him in good humour with my people.

On the landing-place opposite to Massowah we discovered a rude fluted column of black granite, with a capital, of which I have given an etching. It was unlike any other I had ever seen, and gave me hopes that, by it, we might discover the ruins of Aduli, from which it was probably brought. We were informed by some of the Shiho Bedowee, who bring milk every morning to the town, that there were quarries of a similar stone in the lower hills, lying due west from Massowah, but we could obtain no positive intelligence of any other columns. They spoke, indeed, of some ruins between us and the hills; but situated as we then were with the Nayib,

it was impossible to make any researches at a distance from the vessel.

We were not able to procure a sufficiency of sheep, or water, from the Nayib, which he excused by the want of rain: we were consequently obliged to go to Dohoole; however I sent the Nayib a frassel of coffee, merely as a proof that we parted friends.

The Baharnegash went yesterday. I sent letters by him to the Ras and Pacha Abdallah, and to Pierce.

I have given in the following chapters Mr. Salt's narrative of his expedition, which he delivered to me on his return.

CHAPTER X.

Arrival at Massowah from Mocha.—Negotiations with the Nayib.—Difficulties experienced in procuring Mules, Camels, &c. for our Journey.—Preparations for the Journey.—Passage from Massowah to Arkeko.—Transactions there.

CHAPTER X.

"JUNE 28.—We arrived in the harbour of Massowah this day at noon, having been exactly a week in sailing up the coast from Mocha. During our passage we experienced a regular succession of land and sea breezes. As soon as we had dropped anchor, Captain Court sent his boat on shore for Currum Chund, the Banian. He declined coming, and returned for answer, that the Nayib, without whose permission it was impossible for him to communicate with us, was at Arkeko; that he was much alarmed at our coming in the 'great ship;' especially as he had written to delay our expedition, in consequence of the country being in a state of confusion; but that he would acquaint the Nayib with our arrival, and would himself come on board as soon as he had received permission.

"June 29.—Captain Court again sent his boat early in the morning for the Banian, who still excused himself on the plea of the Nayib's absence; it was therefore determined to send on shore Hamed Chamie, our Arab interpreter, who also spoke the language of Hindostan. He soon came back, bringing us an account that the Banian was greatly alarmed at our speedy return in the Panther, a ship of force. All would have been well, he added, if we had come over quietly in a dow; but that now the Sirdar of the troops was again bringing in his claim of five hundred dollars for the anchorage of the vessel. He moreover assured Hamed Chamie

that he had forwarded Lord Valentia's letter to Ras Welleta Selassé. This latter assertion, however, was not quite correct, as we knew, from private information, that it was still remaining at Arkeko in the hands of the Ascari. In the afternoon the Banian himself came on board; but was able to communicate to us little more than a confirmation of what we had heard before. All our present difficulties have arisen from the Sirdar of the Ascari, now in Massowah; we however declined having any communication with him, being determined to transact business only with the Nayib in person.

"June 30.—The Nayib came over in the morning from Arkeko to Massowah, and immediately sent Hamed Chamie to us, with his salaams, and an excuse for not having come sooner; fixing twelve o'clock for our public visit. Accordingly, I and Captain Rudland went on shore with Captain Court, under a salute of eleven guns, with which the latter was kind enough to honour us for the purpose of giving importance to our mission. On landing, we were saluted with all the guns, both great and small, that they could muster on the island; and then proceeded to the divan, or hall of audience, attended by a havildar's guard of the Bombay marines. The ceremonies were precisely as heretofore, except that our sepoys were marched up and ranged along the lower end of the hall. The divan was crowded; the Nayib, the Sirdar, and the Dola of Arkeko being present. After the usual compliments, coffee was handed to all, not omitting even the sepoys. I and Captain Court then received caftans of blue cloth lined with satin, after which we departed, in the same order as we came, to the house of Abou Yusuff, Secretary to the Nayib, which had been prepared for us by Currum Chund.

" On going off to the ship the former compliment of eleven guns was repeated. After dinner we returned, and took up our abode on shore. The Nayib declared to Hamed Chamie that he had sent Lord Valentia's letter to the Ras.

" July 1.—The Nayib sent us a message in the morning, desiring that the boat, which they observed conveying our baggage on shore, should land it at the wharf, in order that it might be examined at the Custom-house, instead of bringing it round immediately to our own house. Captain Court remonstrated with them on the inconvenience of this plan, as the packages contained merely articles that were necessary to us on shore, and which would not be carried out of the house; if, therefore, they meant us to stay on friendly terms, he should persist in bringing the baggage by the most convenient way; but, that if they wished it, it should be opened at our own house for the inspection of any person whom the Nayib should think proper to depute for that purpose. This proposal gave satisfaction, and accordingly two men were sent down, but they appeared to be soon tired of their office, and went away again in the course of an hour.

" The Nayib's brother and the Vizier came to us before breakfast, demanding, and that in no very delicate terms, the extravagant sum of one thousand dollars, half for the ship's anchorage, and half for permitting us to pass through the country on our intended visit to Ras Welleta Selassé; and this, I believe, exclusively of the expenses of our three or four days journey through the country. We stopped the conversation abruptly, by saying that we never discussed matters of business before a multitude of people, (for the room was full of strangers) and desired them to choose some more

convenient opportunity, as we were then going to breakfast. They promised to do so, and departed. At eleven o'clock, instead of the return of the above chiefs, as had been agreed upon, the Banian came, accompanied by one of the Nayib's secretaries. They informed us that Hamed Chamie had already stated our willingness to pay what was proper; and in consequence, the Nayib had resolved to reduce his demand to three hundred dollars, to be paid down to the Ascari, and that the expenses of our jonrney should be a subsequent consideration; that he hoped every thing would be speedily adjusted to our mutual satisfaction; but if not, as we had come friends into the country, so he hoped we should depart. As they added that the Nayib wished to talk over the business personally, we declined returning an answer until we should see him; at the same time giving them fully to understand, that no such demand would be complied with, and that, as the indispensable condition of our paying any thing, was the being supplied with convenient means for passing through the Nayib's territory, we should make but one agreement, which must comprehend a supply of mules, asses, a guard, and provisions for the journey. The evening was accordingly appointed for our private visit to the Nayib. After waiting till past seven o'clock. Currum Chund at last came, and endeavoured to put off our visit, stating, that nothing could be done without first settling with the Ascari. We paid little attention to him, and sent Hamed Chamie to the Nayib to enquire, whether he meant to see us according to his appointment, as we should enter into no farther negotiation until he should grant us a personal interview.

" From the situation of affairs, I perceived it was impossible to

avoid paying exorbitantly for permission to pass through the country; we therefore came to a determination not to exceed five hundred dollars; and we were induced to comply so far, merely from our extreme reluctance to return without having made every possible effort towards the accomplishment of our mission.

Hamed Chamie returned with a message, that the Nayib was ready to see us. We found him in his cadjân-house, where Lord Valentia had had his first private audience. He was in a loose undress, sitting at the further end of the room, surrounded by all his principal people, in a similar dishabille: one small lamp hung from the centre of the room, shedding around so faint a light, that we were at a loss to recognize even the Nayib, till he was pointed out by one of the attendants.

Having made our usual salaams, we were seated immediately opposite to him, and then (Hamed Chamie, standing between us as interpreter, and Andrew, a servant, whom we had hired at Mocha, and who spoke Arabic, Hindostanee, and English, on my right hand) the following dialogue took place.

"Salt.—We have now arrived in your territory for the third time; you have received us with the greatest honours; such, indeed, as we have always experienced from your friendship. For these we return you our thanks.

"Nayib.—It has always been my wish to treat you well. You came here as friends; we have always continued as such; and I hope that we shall settle every thing amicably.

"Salt.—It is for that purpose we have waited on you, and I will now explain the reason of our coming. Your friend, Lord Valentia, has received letters from Ras Welleta Selassé, desiring that some

persons should be sent to him, in order to open an intercourse of friendship with Abyssinia. We are, in consequence, proceeding to the Ras, having been selected by Lord Valentia for that purpose: we therefore request permission to pass through your country, and such assistance as may be necessary for the prosecution of our journey.

" Nayib.—I have no objection to your passing through my country, but you must satisfy my Ascari. Give them five hundred dollars, and I will supply you with every thing requisite, for which we will settle afterwards.

" Salt.—Why do you demand five hundred dollars for your Ascari? You well know that the vessel in which we have arrived is not a trader, but a ship of war, that never pays one single komeassm* to the greatest Sultaun on earth. Even in this sea they go to Suez, to Jidda, and to Mocha, and nothing is ever demanded. It must be fully understood that not a komeassm will ever be paid on this account.

" Nayib.—I know the ship is no trader, and when you were here before this was understood; nothing more shall be said on this head.

" Salt.—What, then, are these five hundred dollars for? We do not know your Ascari, and can have nothing to say to them: you are surely the Prince of this country, and it is with you only that we can treat. We are willing to give, for your assistance, even more than would be given in any other country, only let us know your demand.

" Nayib.—What assistance do you require?

* The smallest money of Yemen.

" Hamed Chamie then entered into an explanation of the number of mules, asses, camels, and attendants of which we should stand in need. Notice being now given that the hour of prayer was at hand, the Nayib and all his people went out, and prostrated themselves on a carpet in front of the house; after which the priest recited passages from the Koran. The moral effects, however, of this religious service were not very apparent: though the highest sum hitherto demanded had never exceeded eight hundred dollars, a message was now brought from the Nayib that he expected a thousand.

" I answered, that the idea of a thousand dollars was ridiculous, and that we would give no such sum, demanding where the Nayib was, and whether he did not intend to return! On this Hamed Chamie called out, not very delicately, I thought, " Nayib Edris, Nayib Edris !" on which the Nayib came in, and resumed his seat, when I thus addressed him.

" You have now made a demand of a thousand dollars; for what? for permitting us to march only three or four day's journey through your country. If you were in our country, you would be received with honour, without having any thing to pay for such permission; even in Arabia no such tribute is ever imposed.

" Nayib.—Three or four day's journey! why it is twelve. Moreover, I intend sending my people to insure your safety to the presence of the Ras.

" Salt.—This we do not want; when we arrive at Dixan we shall be met by the Ras's people; besides, what guard is necessary? We shall be safe even should we walk thither, as you well know

that both Massowah and Arkeko will be answerable for our return. In one word, if you will provide us with every convenience to pass through your country, we will agree to give you five hundred dollars, which sum nothing shall induce us to exceed. If this offer be not accepted, there are other places through which we can communicate with the Ras, and all the fault of our not reaching him must rest with you. We expected that you would have acted as our friend, instead of which you place every obstacle in our way. We have been here three times; have we not always shown ourselves your friends? This conduct of yours, however, if persisted in, may bring upon you a very different treatment from what you have hitherto experienced from the English.

"This address seemed not a little to alarm our interpreter, for while translating it, he turned round and called upon Andrew to say whether each word, as he again repeated it aloud in Arabic, were not precisely what we had ordered him to deliver; to which Andrew made his repeated affirmations, "just so." The Nayib's countenance shewed that he felt the force of our remonstrance; he was silent for a short time, then turning to his people, he spoke in the language of the country for upwards of five minutes: his manner was persuasive, his action apparently just, and upon the whole he seemed no inconsiderable orator. Afterwards, turning to us, he said, that upon consideration of his friendship for Lord Valentia, and on consultation with his people, he would reduce his demand to seven hundred dollars, which being paid, every thing should be arranged to our satisfaction. We again assured him that we should not in the least vary from our original proposal. After some words between Currum Chund, Hamed Chamie, and the

Nayib, he offered to accept of six hundred dollars, positively declaring that we should not pass through his country for less; that the camels, mules, asses, &c. were to be fetched from a distance; that his people were ravenous, and that he had a thousand mouths to fill. To this proposal Hamed Chamie and the Banian intreated us to accede, adding, that they themselves would rather pay the additional hundred dollars, than press the subject any farther. This, however, we declined, and again ordered them to repeat to the Nayib that we had but "one word;" that we had offered as much, nay more than we were authorised to do by Lord Valentia, and perceiving that the matter was not likely to be adjusted, we would, for the present, take our leave, hoping that, by the morrow, he would be convinced, not only of the fairness, but even of the liberality of our offer. To this the Nayib replied, "These are not the words Lord Valentia would use, but your own." This insinuation brought on a warm remonstrance on my part, which happily produced an apology from the Nayib, and a declaration that he would accept our terms. "God be praised," cried Hamed Chamie, raising his voice, that every one present might hear, "it is settled; five hundred dollars is the sum agreed upon."

After our public business was arranged, Captain Court mentioned, that, understanding rice was exceedingly scarce in the Nayib's dominions, he would on the morrow send him as much as he could spare out of what he had provided for his own people. This offer was received with much thankfulness by the Nayib and all his attendants, except the Banian, who would have prevented Hamed Chamie from mentioning it, doubtless from its not agreeing exactly with his immediate interest. The Nayib was displeased with the

Banian's interference, and rebuked him sharply. We now arose, and departed, rejoiced at having brought this troublesome business to a conclusion.

"July 2.—A messenger from the Nayib came early in the morning for the money; we returned for answer, that it was usual with us to pay one half on making a bargain, and the other half on its being fulfilled; that, however, we had no objection to send him three hundred dollars, and that the remainder should be paid on the day of our departure from Arkeko. This gave no great satisfaction; the Nayib said that his soldiers would not leave Massowah till they saw the money: was I afraid of trusting him? I asked the Banian, who brought the message, if he were willing to be security for the Nayib, which he refused. "What have I to do with it?" said he, "I am your servant, and not the Nayib's."

"Previously to coming to a final determination on this matter, we sent to the Nayib to enquire how soon all things would be in readiness for our journey, and were told that it might be fifteen days, or more, as the mules were far up in the country. This assertion, so much at variance with our wish of losing as little time as possible, still further embroiled the discussion. At length, after spending the whole day in altercation, we submitted two propositions to the choice of the Nayib; either, that we would pay three hundred dollars immediately, and the remaining two hundred when every thing was ready; or, which was by far the most agreeable to us, that the whole five hundred dollars should be paid down, on condition of our receiving a written receipt for the money, and an agreement that all the preparations should be completed in ten days, at the end of which time, if there were any farther

delay, we should consider him as having forfeited his word, and should employ such means as he well knew were in our power, to enforce the fulfilment of the contract.

"The Nayib at length acceded to this latter proposal, after an ineffectual attempt to evade giving a written agreement.

"July 3.—The money was paid in the morning; and the written agreement made out by Hamed Chamie in Arabic, was signed and sealed by the Nayib; in return, on his requisition, I gave him a counter-receipt.

"July 4.—Some difficulty arose about the bags of rice which Captain Court offered to present to the Nayib. His people did not appear satisfied with the quantity, and therefore hesitated about accepting it; so insatiable are their desires, and so little delicacy have they in making them known. Captain Court repeated to them, that the rice now landed was all that he could at present spare, but that if, by the Nayib's expediting the party to Abyssinia, his stay here should be shortened, he would double the quantity. It will scarcely be believed that, notwithstanding this refusal to accept the generous offer of Captain Court, the people were at that time almost starving for want of grain. On account of a partial failure of the annual rains, not a drop of fresh water was left on the island, and that which came from Arkeko was every day becoming more and more brackish. The boys and girls gather the root of a kind of sea weed to eat; it is by no means unpleasant to the taste, and constitutes a great part of their food.

"About six o'clock this evening an unpleasant circumstance occurred to Captains Court and Rudland. As they were walking through the town, an insolent fellow, lately arrived from Jidda,

either from a religious frenzy, or some unknown cause, began to abuse them in a violent manner, as they passed the walled inclosure round his house; and taking up a large stone, was in the act of throwing it at them, when some of the inhabitants, who were near, laid hold of his arms, and prevented the assault, calling out, at the same time, that the Nayib was at hand. This proved to be actually the case; for the circumstance having happened close to his residence, he himself, on hearing the noise, immediately came out, and with great kindness took our friends by the hand, and led them into his house. They sent directly for our interpreter, and one of the Nayib's sons came in great haste for me. On my arrival, Captain Court represented to the Nayib, in very strong terms, what had happened, and desired the offender might be brought forward.

"The Nayib said, that what had passed, had passed; he hoped it would be overlooked, as he could not answer for our safety when we went out, unless we were accompanied by some of his own people.

"After assuring him that a repetition of the offence should be punished as it merited, Captain Court informed the Nayib, that, from personal regard to him, he would pass over what had happened, trusting that his present forbearance would not encourage a repetition of the insult.

"While we were at the Nayib's, Unus Barilla, hearing that there was some disturbance in which we were concerned, armed all his men, eleven in number, and drew them up in front of the Nayib's house, where he kept them on watch till the whole affair was settled: an instance of attachment to our interest, both in himself and his Samaulies, highly creditable to their fidelity.

"July 5.—Hamed Chamie waited on us at breakfast time, with the agreeable intelligence of the dispatch of a letter, which I had sent over to Arkeko to be forwarded to the Ras, requesting him to send people to meet us on our arrival at Dixan. For the conveyance of this letter Currum Chund demanded no less a sum than thirty dollars; but exorbitant as it was for the conveyance of a single letter, for so short a distance, I thought it best at the time to submit to the imposition, as it was a point of the greatest importance to acquaint the Ras with the success of our negotiation with the Nayib; particularly as, from several circumstances, we doubted whether Lord Valentia's letter to the Ras, announcing our intended visit, had been forwarded.

"July 6.—The weather since our arrival at Massowah has been intensely hot; the thermometer varying for the most part from 96° to 99° during the day; but we have been relieved by frequent breezes from the south. Nothing particular has occurred, and we have been reducing our baggage as much as possible preparatory to our journey. In other respects affairs are going on so well that we expect to set off by the thirteenth or fourteenth instant.

"July 7.—An attendant of the Nayib came to us in the afternoon, bringing with him a man just arrived from Dowarba. His mode of salutation differed from that made use of at Massowah. He first kissed the back of his hand, and then made a slight inclination of the head. We offered him coffee, which he refused: he called himself a Christian, and said that he was 'all one with us.' We were beginning to question him concerning the news in the upper country, when he was sent for in a great hurry by the Nayib.

"Abou Yusuff came to us in the evening: he told me that he

had written a second letter, by order of the Nayib, to hasten the mules; he had also sent for two men, of the tribe of the Shiho, to attend us. These people are very wild, and inhabit the mountains through which our road lies. He particularly mentioned the mountains of Gidam, Taranta, and Assooba, as frequented by them. He recommended us not to let the ship go away till our arrival at Dixan was announced; and to permit Hamed, the Nayib's son, to go over to Arkeko with us, as the people of this latter place are not to be depended upon; even the Nayib himself cannot trust them; but that if we had his son with us, they would not dare to molest the party. I told him that his thoughts were mine; that I would follow his advice, and that Captain Court had already determined to stay till our letters from Dixan should be received.

"July 8.—The Christian from Dowarba came to us again in the evening, accompanied by an attendant of the Nayib. He appeared to be a simple uneducated creature, from whom we could not expect to obtain any important information; and it was not improbable that he had been selected on this very account, out of four who had arrived, as the Nayib's people were evidently shy of letting us know the object of their mission. From repeated questions, however, we learned, that they had brought from Welleta Sulimaun, Governor of Dowarba,* an answer to a demand which the Nayib had made of some long forgotten tribute. The purport of the answer was, that the Governor was the Nayib's friend, and would prevent, so far as lay in his power, any of the neighbouring tribes from making plundering incursions into the territory of his

* The Banian and Amed Yusuff informed us that the mission to the Nayib was from Ras Aylo, the Chief of Serawé, eight days journey beyond Dowarba. Ras Aylo, we understand, is a dependent upon Ras Welleta Selassé.

ally, and that he would continue in all amity; but not a word was said about the money. The Abyssinian Christian took coffee in the evening, on its being handed to him by ourselves, to the surprise, as it seemed, of the Mussulmauns. On his leaving us, I made him a present of a piece of Surat cloth, with which he was much pleased.

" July 9.—We were under the necessity of troubling the Nayib at an early hour in the morning, in consequence of a melancholy occurrence, which took place yesterday evening; namely, the death of Woodward, one of the marine boys belonging to the Panther. He neglected to take off his wet clothes, after having been in the water on the evening of the second instant, and was attacked the following morning with a locked jaw, and other violent symptoms, which baffled the effects of opium, and of every other medicine that it was in our power to administer. At Captain Court's desire his death was reported to the Nayib, accompanied by a request, that a spot might be pointed out for his interment; which, with great civility, was immediately granted. Another boy was seized in a similar way, whom we were fortunate enough to recover by large doses of opium.

" July 10.—The Nayib left Massowah in the morning for Arkeko, where he meant to continue for some days. Before his departure he introduced an officer of the Ascari, with whom we might communicate, should occasion require; he also promised to dispatch a messenger on the arrival of the mules from Hamâzin.

" July 11.—About 2. P. M. a dow belonging to Emir Mohammed arrived in the harbour of Massowah, from Suakin, having on board three Arabian horses, intended, we understood, as a present for the

Imaum of Sana, or the Dola of Mocha. Emir Mohammed himself was expected in the course of a day or two.

" July 12.—The Nayib came over in the morning from Arkeko, to settle the duties of the kafila * and dows lately arrived. I sent to remind him of the near approach of the time which had been fixed for having the mules ready; stating, that from a reliance on his word, I had hitherto avoided troubling him on the subject, and hoped that all would be prepared by the morrow. He returned in answer, that he had already sent twice for the mules, that they were nearly at hand, and, by the blessing of God, all would be ready in three or four days. This manifest evasion and violation of his written engagement brought on much altercation, which was carried on during the whole day by messengers charged alternately with our complaints, and the Nayib's excuses. The particulars it is needless to detail; the result of the whole was, that the Nayib promised to give me a personal interview the next day.

" July 13.—At the appointed hour of our visit, twelve o'clock, we were informed that the Nayib was asleep; the interview was therefore postponed till the evening. At six o'clock we waited on the Nayib, and found him in the mosque, whence he proceeded with us to the Cadjân house, accompanied by two or three attendants. I opened the conference by saying, that, as I was about to dispatch a letter to Lord Valentia, it would be necessary to state to his Lordship the reason of our still continuing at Massowah, after the day had elapsed on which, by agreement, we were to have proceeded on our journey to Abyssinia. The Nayib replied, that it would be most agreeable to him to send us off the next morning,

* Or caravan.

but that the mules and asses were not come down so soon as he had expected; he trusted, however, that they would arrive in three or four days; after which there would be no further delay. I answered, that I well knew that the mules might, without difficulty, have been brought to Arkeko from the most distant part of his territory, by the time appointed; I was both surprised and hurt at the delay; that every day was now of importance to us; and that the non-fulfilment of his deliberate and written engagement had placed me in a very disagreeable situation; more especially as I had received private information that the mules were actually at this very time at Arkeko. To these remonstrances he answered as before, that he was as anxious for our departure as ourselves; and that there was no foundation for the report which we had heard.

"I again urged the impossibility of delaying, day after day, without any thing being settled; that the vessel in which I came could not stay much longer, and that as I had determined to proceed, if all things were not ready in three days, I should set out on foot, with such assistance of asses and camels for our baggage, as he might choose to supply; if, however, we were constrained to begin our journey thus unprovided with the stipulated conveniences, I should consider him as no longer acting the part of a friend. The Nayib said that if such were our determination, we certainly might have all his asses and camels, and one mule which he kept for his own riding; and that he would send us on the road where we should meet the other mules coming down. We then ended the conference, by repeating our fixed determination to act as we had informed him.

"July 14.—I went on board the Panther in the morning to make preparations for our departure. The day was extremely hot, the thermometer being at 96° a few minutes after sun-rise, in the shade of a house with stone walls. In the course of the day, three of the Christians, who came down with the kafila, paid their respects to us. They seemed much pleased at the idea of our visiting their country, and answered with great willingness all our inquiries in spite of Abou Yusuff, who was greatly displeased at their coming, and spoke to them with much harshness. They told us that all was well on the road, and that the Tacazza was passable at all times and seasons, on rafts kept for that purpose. Each of the men had a blue fillet of silk round his neck, a badge of Christianity mentioned by Bruce; they were stout, robust people, with short and almost woolly hair.

"July 15.—We were engaged all the morning in packing and securing our baggage. In the evening some Mussulmauns from Gondar paid us a visit, one of whom spoke Arabic, and appeared to be a man of much information. Among other particulars we learned from him, that the present Ras of Abyssinia is a son of Kefla Yasous, that Axum is one day's journey from Adowa, and has many curious ruins, some of which are in good preservation. The lake Dembea, he told us, is about the same distance from Gondar, as Arkeko is from Massowah. The head of the Nile gushes out generally from one spring, but when there is much rain it forces its way through many. It is only five days journey from Gondar, and is perfectly easy of access, as all the country belongs to the king.

"July 16.—We went on board the Panther in the morning, and brought on shore such fire arms, ammunition, &c. as Captain Court

could spare: on leaving the ship we were highly gratified at being cheered by the ship's company, a pleasing testimony of its good wishes. In the mean time I sent Hamed Chamie to the Nayib, to inform him that the day fixed upon for our departure having arrived, we were all in readiness, that we wished to know if the mules were at Arkeko, otherwise the ship would proceed thither to-morrow, and that we should go on to Dixan, with the asses and camels only, as before stated: to this he answered that there would be no necessity for the ship's going, that he himself would conduct us in the course of the day, and begged that we would get all things ready for our departure: he added, that it would be necessary to prepare provisions for our guard; beside which, if we gave them five dollars each, they would, he thought, be satisfied.

"To this I replied, he might rest assured, that I would never give his Ascari a single dollar more, nor would I provide them with provisions on the road.

"Captain Court at the same time told the Nayib, that he had but one word to say on the occasion; if we were not at Arkeko by the day after he had once taken us in charge, he should go down thither with his ship. The Nayib now took up another ground; he said the road was extremely bad, that the Simooms were raging; and that a great many people were dying daily from these causes; if we therefore persisted, he must detain Emir Hamed as a witness to Lord Valentia, if any accident occurred: that the mules would be ready in three or four days, and that if that were not the case, he would then collect his Ascari, and conduct us himself. We replied, that he knew our minds, and we had no more to say. In the evening we again demanded at what time he proposed to be ready, and after

much difficulty extorted an answer from him, that he would go with us the next morning.

" July 17.— I sent a message this morning to know the hour he meant to accompany us to Arkeko: after waiting about three hours Hamed Chamie, Emir Hamed, and Currum Chund came to bring us the Nayib's answer, which was, that he was busy at the custom-house, and could not fix upon any hour; he also added, that if we chose to go without waiting for the mules, we must pay extra for all the asses and camels he might procure for us, as they belonged to other people at Arkeko. Provoked at these repeated attempts at extortion, I informed them that, having been already acquainted with Captain Court's determination and my own, they might now do as they pleased; they had experienced the good effects of the friendship of the English, and if they were wise, would not brave their enmity. They returned almost immediately with a message from the Nayib, that he would be ready to accompany us at day-break the next morning; in consequence of which Captain Court at my request deferred sailing. In the evening Captain Court went on board; the Banian's boat was loaded with our baggage, and the guard stationed over it for the night.

" July 18.—At day-break the Nayib's boat passed us, under weigh for Arkeko, upon which we immediately put the few remaining packages into our own boat, and then finding it so full that we were unable to accommodate ourselves, we sent Pearce and two seapoys on with it, and waited till Captain Court came on shore, we then returned with him to the ship, breakfasted, and set off immediately afterwards in Unus's dow, attended by a naig and seven sepoys under charge of Lieutenant Crawford, whom Captain Court had been

kind enough to send with us, for the protection of our baggage and persons, which, from all that we knew of the character of the inhabitants of Arkeko, appeared to be by no means a superfluous precaution.

" The sea breeze sprung up and carried us over very pleasantly to the landing-place at Arkeko; on our way we passed over a shoal not known before, Ras Gidam and Valentia being both in one, and Sheik Seid and Massowah open. There is plenty of water for ships of any size till within a quarter of a mile of the shore.

" It was eleven o'clock when we landed, and the intense heat of the sun reflected by the burning sand made our walk up to the house prepared for us, which was half a mile distant, the most oppressive that I ever experienced; we were all much exhausted by it on our arrival, but were soon refreshed by the attention of the Nayib, who was waiting to receive us. Our people were engaged till two o'clock, in getting up the baggage, which was effected without any loss or accident.

" As soon as the boat was ready to return, I sent Hamed Chamie to the Nayib, wishing to know when we were to leave Arkeko, as I was desirous of conveying the intelligence to Captain Court; he replied, that nothing could be done on the morrow, it being their Sabbath; that it would take up the whole of the next day to arrange the baggage, and that on the following morning we should commence our journey. By remonstrating with him, however, on this unnecessary delay, I prevailed so far that the day after the Sabbath was fixed on for our departure. We procured for our day's supply a quantity of water and a sheep: the water was well tasted, but of a whitish colour, and deposited much sediment. In the evening we received

two sheep from the Nayib, and in return presented the servant who brought them with a dollar.

" Some of our party wishing to walk at sunset, I requested the Nayib would send one of his people to attend them. He said the women and children would be alarmed, and that the boys would be very troublesome: he therefore begged that we would not go beyond the walls of the enclosure. As we were retiring to rest, the Nayib placed an Ascari as a guard at the door of our house, and desired us on no account to go out during the night, as wild beasts were abroad, and evil minded persons, who would molest us. We slept within our enclosure in the open air, only using the precaution of having our fire arms near at hand. Pearce and one of the sepoys sleeping on the outside of the gate, but with their heads on the threshold, were awakened about eleven o'clock by the Nayib himself, who insisted on their coming in and bolting the door. As a proof that this was not an unnecessary precaution, it may be mentioned, that the Nayib's sentinel, who was stationed at the door, sent in his cap and shoes, lest they should be taken from him in the night. We heard the cries of hyænas, and other wild beasts, prowling about, which, from the noise they made, must have been very numerous; nevertheless, we passed the night without molestation.

" July 19.—Early this morning the Nayib came with some of his people to look at our baggage; and in the afternoon the packages were sorted by the camel drivers, and an account taken. There seemed to be much dispute among the parties as to the number of animals required. Much difficulty was made about the tent, and I was at length obliged to determine on leaving the fly behind. At mid-day the thermometer was at 110°.

" We were, as usual, pestered in the evening with a number of messages concerning provisions for the Ascari and camel drivers. I told them we had very little for ourselves, and that I should therefore not take upon myself the care of providing for them. As we were retiring to rest, the same disturbance again occurred about the door of our house being closed and bolted; but the night being intensely hot (and our party much increased by the arrival of Captain Court with his boat's crew, making altogether twenty-six in number, and crowded into a space of not more than forty feet square) we determined to protest against it, and at length prevailed on the Nayib to give up the point; but, as what had passed in our conference with him was not particularly pleasant, we thought it prudent to be on the alert during the remainder of the night.

" July 20.—The circumstances already mentioned caused us to pass a most unpleasant night: we could neither sleep nor rest, so closely were we pent up, and so oppressive was the state of the air.

" Early at day-break some of the camels arrived, and the Nayib came for the purpose of finally settling every thing. On a repetition of a demand for provisions for the people who were to accompany us, we gave him the same answer as before; but added, that wishing to make it easy to the camel drivers, we would give each of them a small sum of money, to furnish them with provisions as far as Dixan.

" At eight o'clock all the camels were loaded, and proceeded on their way, guarded by Pearce, and Mr. Carter, who volunteered upon the occasion. For myself, I thought it not prudent to brave

the mid-day sun at the commencement of a journey, which would doubtless prove sufficiently fatiguing. There were also a few matters yet remaining to be arranged; in consequence of which Captain Rudland and the rest of the party still continued with me at Arkeko.

" Captain Court, completely weary of the place and of the Nayib, returned very early in the morning to the ship, leaving however with us Lieutenant Crawford and the guard. We felt great regret at parting from this valuable friend, whose kind assistance in farthering every object of our mission had been such as to claim our warmest gratitude. With respect to his private stock, there was nothing which he would not have given us; and so far as lay in his power he furnished us in his public capacity, with those articles which it was impossible for us to procure at Mocha or elsewhere in the Red Sea. Indeed from all our friends on board the Panther we received every kind attention and assistance.

CHAPTER XI.

MR. SALT'S NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

Departure from Arkeko to Dixan.—Numbers and description of our party.—Illerbehey.—Shillikee.—Wéah.—Hazorta Encampments.—Meet with mules sent down from Dixan.—Hamhammo.—Sadoon.—Tubbo.—Illilah.—Foot of Taranta.—Passage over that Mountain.—Arrival at Dixan.—Proceedings at Dixan.

CHAPTER XI.

"JULY 20.—Our party, on quitting Arkeko, consisted of the following persons. Myself; Captain Rudland; Mr. Carter; Hamed Chamie, an interpreter from Mocha and born at Mecca; Andrew, another interpreter, likewise from Mocha, who spoke English well; Pierce, an English servant, who spoke a little Arabic; two Arabian servants, Seid and Ageeb; a boy from Massowah, who spoke the language of the country and Arabic; and an old man who carried our pedometer: total in number ten. We were accompanied also by an old Mussulmaun Sheik, and his little boy, going up into the country on a trading expedition, both of whom continued with us the whole of our journey, and proved very attentive and useful. Our guard consisted of about twenty-five of the Nayib's Ascari; besides whom we had a guide belonging to the Shiho tribe, and about ten camel-drivers, natives of the country.

"The baggage with its escort had already left Arkeko (as mentioned in the preceding Chapter), and the rest of the party were preparing to follow, when I found that no animals had been provided, except a mule for myself. This was not the time to enter into a long discussion with the Nayib on the subject, I therefore hired an ass for Captain Rudland, four camels for our servants, and four more to carry the tent poles, for which I agreed to pay eight dollars. At four P.M. one camel only arrived, and many excuses were made

to detain us. After enquiring into the full extent of the Nayib's demands, the charge of twelve dollars was made out by the Dola and the Nayib's son, for which I gave a draft on Currum Chund. The Nayib now, without assigning any reason whatever, declared he would have twenty-two dollars; provoked at this new and unexpected instance of knavery, I replied in Arabic, before his son and the Dola, that if he said so he told an untruth, for that I would not, on any account, pay a single dollar more. In the midst of the wrangling which this occasioned, the ship most fortunately moved towards Arkeko.* Upon the Nayib's demanding the reason of this, I replied, "Captain Court is coming to see that I am safe, and though, if he finds that all is well, he will immediately go away, yet, he will return in ten days for intelligence which I have agreed to send him from Dixan." The Nayib's son replied in a haughty tone, "Let him come;" but his coming was not equally pleasing to the Dola and the inhabitants of the place; for the former immediately went out in great alarm, taking the Nayib's son with him, and made so forcible a representation of his fears, that in a few minutes, without more words, every thing was prepared, and we set off.

"After I had mounted the mule, and had proceeded a few yards, Captain Rudland and his ass were completely hustled by the members of the divan, one of whom had actually employed a boy to steal his fowling piece; he only escaped by urging forward his beast, and pouring forth in Arabic all the abuse that he could muster on the occasion. Of Arkeko I have little to say; it is an

* This, as we found on our return, was merely accidental, the ship having been driven from her anchor by a partial Simoom. It was one of the many lucky coincidences, that occurred in the course of our expedition.

assemblage of miserable huts, among which are two stone houses with walled yards, belonging to the Nayib: before that in which we resided was a verandah covered with mats.

"We passed out to the southward through gardens, which are cultivated with a degree of care unusual in this country. Immediately beyond lies a burying-ground, and to the right a village, where most of the Ascari reside. In passing along the plain, which is upwards of a mile in breadth, reckoning from the sea to the nearest rising ground, I had an opportunity of observing that the bottom of the bay forms a considerable bight. About a mile and a half from Arkeko are six wells, near twenty feet deep, and above fifteen in diameter. It is from these that the town receives its scanty supply of fresh water. By the evening the wells are so nearly drained, that the water, as it rises in the middle of each, is taken up with a flat vessel like a skimming-dish; it is then put into skins, and brought up a broken ascent by men, women, and children in a state of perfect nudity. The name of these wells is Illerbehey, Bruce's first stage. Having watered the mules and camels, we proceeded on our way, in the course of which, we saw several red deer exceedingly tame, and some small wolves, that bore a near resemblance to the large paria dog of India. We passed another village, beyond which two large flocks of goats were feeding; and observed that all the villages, and gardens, were carefully fenced round with large branches of the thorny Acacia. By the time that we had quitted the plain, it became too dark to make any observations, except such as were forced upon us by the ruggedness of the road. We arrived at length at the rising ground, called by Bruce, Shillokeeb, but pronounced by the natives Shillikee, where we slept

undisturbed in the midst of our camels and baggage. There is no water at this place.

"July 21.—As soon as the moon arose, which was about half past two, we commenced our morning's march. The air was pleasantly cool, and the road, which was good, winded among the gullies of the mountains, at times crossing the dry beds of the torrents. There was at this time little variety of vegetation, almost every thing being burnt up: the Acacia, which grows to the height of about forty feet, nearly covered the face of the country; round the trunks of this tree were twined the stems of various climbing plants, which were completely leafless.

"We were much gratified, after being wearied with the sun-burnt foliage of the Acacia, with the sight of green trees at a distance, indicating the presence of fresh water. We accordingly soon found ourselves on the bank of a torrent called Weah, much discoloured by the dirt and rotten wood brought down by it from the hills whence it rises. By the side of this stream we hung up the walls of our tent on the branches of a tree, resembling the cedar in its general growth, except that the boughs droop like those of the weeping willow. The quill of a porcupine was brought me by one of our attendants. Here also we first saw the dung of elephants, though the natives deny that these animals ever frequent this place. Hitherto we have journeyed in nearly a south course, varying a little to the west, and are, I conjecture, about eighteen miles from Arkeko.

"Our Ascari now conceiving that we had advanced so far into the country as to be entirely at their mercy, began to display their insatiable rapacity and insolence. The camel master and drivers

also made common cause with them, so that, had they not been deterred by the superiority of our fire-arms, I am persuaded that even our lives would scarcely have been safe. They made demands of tobacco, rice, coffee, and liquor, on the plea that the Nayib had given them nothing but a little juwarry. These we resisted; but, at length promised to buy them some goats and juwarry, if we met with any, and to give them a small quantity of tobacco; but to satisfy such villains was impossible. We quitted Weah at three P. M. and passing the torrent, which was shallow, and running in an easterly direction, proceeded over the plain to the south a little westerly. Captain Rudland made an excursion with his gun, and saw many deer of different kinds, hares, partridges, and guinea-fowl: he was attended by a famous Shangalla hunter, armed with his spear and shield, the latter of which was of a circular form, two feet and a half in diameter, and made of the skin of the rhinoceros. He was a very handsome young fellow, straight-limbed, and appeared to be a truly brave man, for he was well behaved, and despised the wrangling of the Ascari.

"We saw a few people of the Shiho tribe on the hill, and some wolves: after passing a second stream as muddy as the former, we encamped for the night. The name of this station is Markela; it was at that time occupied by a tribe of the Hazorta, which had come down with its flocks into the low country for water. The Sheik of the tribe called himself a Dancallé. Their encampment was nearly circular, and about a hundred yards in diameter, well fenced with thorns and brushwood: within was a circle of rude huts composed of sticks and mats, and placed at equal distances from each other; while the vacant space in the centre formed a secure

resting place during the night for their goats and sheep, of which they had an ample stock.

" After we had settled our encampment, the Ascari came round me, headed by their chief, and in a very insolent tone repeated their former demands, declaring that unless these were complied with, they would instantly leave us, take the cattle, and return. I told them, that they might themselves depart as soon as they pleased; but that I would certainly shoot the first person whom I should see meddling with the camels. I now sounded the man in charge of the camels, and found him more tractable than the Ascari, which convinced me that the whole was an attempt to alarm us. In consequence of what had passed, I ordered all our fire arms to be loaded, and a two hours watch was kept during the night, by myself, Captain Rudland, Mr. Carter, and Pearce.

" The villagers about this time brought in their goats and sheep, consisting in the whole of at least five hundred. I purchased three for two dollars, and distributed them among our guard and drivers; we ourselves supped heartily on rice and salt-fish, having eaten nothing but a little biscuit in the course of the day. The water has hitherto been very muddy, though not ill-tasted. Our computed distance from Arkeko is twenty-four miles.

" July 22.—Our attendants made no preparation for commencing our journey at the time appointed; we found, on inquiry, that the delay was occasioned by the non-arrival of the long promised mules of the Nayib, which were to have joined us at this place. Very intelligible hints were also thrown out by the Ascari, that none of them would move until their former demands were satisfied. From this disagreeable state of suspense we were happily

relieved soon after, by the arrival of an Abyssinian Christian with ten mules in his charge, from Dixan. He was sent, by the express command of the Ras, to convey us and our baggage, with all possible speed, to his presence at Antalow, and the strictest orders had been issued to ensure our personal safety during the remainder of the journey. On receiving this welcome intelligence, I called the chief of the Ascari to me, and acquainting him with what had happened, gave him and his followers full liberty to quit us as soon as they pleased. This they none of them chose to do; but finding that all hopes of obtaining any thing by force were now at an end, they promised better behaviour for the future; upon which we consented to their continuing with us.

" By this time it was ten o'clock, and the intense heat of the day induced us to defer our journey for a few hours; we therefore hired, for a little coffee, the hut belonging to the Sheik of the tribe near which we had encamped: it was just large enough to hold our two beds,* which we covered with mats, and thus obtained a comfortable retreat from the rays of the sun. The old Sheik and his wife paid us many begging visits in the course of the day, with which we could readily have dispensed, as the lady was neither young nor handsome, and possessed a most invincible volubility of tongue. Before our departure she came in to examine all her valuables, and gave us a vociferous scolding for having drank some water without leave.

" This tribe seem to fare tolerably well; they have milk and butter, and a fruit called Gersa, which when boiled greatly resem-

* Two small beds taken from our sea cots, which Captain Rudland and myself had found very serviceable to us.

bles the common pea; they also kill two goats for their daily consumption. The Nayib's two servants, with his mule, quitted us at this place, and at three P. M. the rest of the party set out, mounted on the mules from Dixan, which with our thirteen camels made a very respectable appearance. The road seemed perfectly secure, and well frequented, as we saw, almost every hour, small kafilas of twenty or thirty people passing with merchandize to Arkeko.

" After winding about among the acacias, for three miles or more, we turned into the dry bed of a torrent, where at first we suffered much from the heat. Our servants having neglected the most necessary precaution of filling the skins with water, we were in the course of our march incommoded with thirst, the heat being intense. I was for a time relieved by the kindness of a poor fellow coming down from the hills, who gave me a portion of a small quantity that he carried in a cruise upon his back. As we proceeded, the valley became contracted to a rocky gully not more than one hundred yards wide, bounded on each side, and overshadowed by steep and lofty hills.

" We passed a small burying place on our left; and soon after, the two ridges of mountains apparently closed, having at their foot a little rising ground called Hamhamou, a few yards distant from the bed of the torrent, where we halted for the night. We had just unloaded our camels, and were congratulating ourselves on having arrived at the end of a harassing day's journey, during which we had taken no refreshment, except breakfast, when our guide told us that a storm was at hand. We accordingly collected our baggage in haste, covered it over with the walls of the tent, and were in the act of pitching the tent itself, when the rain came on with

great violence, accompanied by loud thunder and vivid lightning, We all huddled together in the tent for shelter, but could not boast much of the protection which it afforded. To add to our trouble, it had no sooner grown dark, (the storm being now at its height), than an alarm was given by the Ascari, who were on the outside, that the natives were coming upon us. We instantly seized such fire-arms as were at hand, and rushed out to receive the enemy, into so drenching a rain as would presently have rendered our fire-arms entirely useless. Fortunately, however, it proved to be a false alarm, excited, I have no doubt, by our Ascari, who, if we had not shewn ourselves ready to repel aggression, would in all probability have taken the opportunity of at least plundering us.

" About an hour after this disturbance, we heard the torrent come rushing down, while the thunder still continued roaring in tremendous peals among the mountains. The air was now become so cold as to render both a cloth coat and camöline * very acceptable, although the thermometer, when we first arrived at this station, was as high as eighty-four degrees.

" The storm continued for four hours, during which some of our party, exhausted by fatigue, fell asleep, and the rest of us soon after, notwithstanding our uncomfortable situation, followed their example.

" July 23.—It was curious to observe, in the morning, how completely our tent was filled, there being not only ourselves and servants, but the Ascari, camel-drivers, and three asses, that had crept in during the night for shelter.

" The hills that here seem to close, run nearly in a south direction; they are composed of large strata of burnt brown stone, with

* An Arab cloak.

here and there layers of white spar; they are thinly covered with stunted Acacias and brushwood, and rise so steep as completely to shut out all distant hills. The rising ground on which we are encamped, is at present only a heap of bare gravel and loose stones, covering a rocky base, out of the crevices of which shoot forth a few green bushes. Bruce passed a night on the same spot; and it was his fortune, as well as ours, to encounter here a terrible storm, which, as usual, he describes with some exaggeration; although he was here on the 17th of November, a very different season.

"From this place there is a winding path of a mile or more leading up the mountain on the eastern bank of the torrent, to some springs and natural cisterns in the rock, from which the tribes on the hills supply themselves with excellent water of a crystalline clearness. While we were at breakfast, a few miserable naked wretches, who live somewhere in the neighbourhood, came to us begging; we willingly made them partakers of our meal.

"Before we recommenced our journey, Guebra Michael, our Abyssinian guide, came to us, and recommended, as provisions were beginning to fall short, to dismiss the Nayib's Ascari. I was not sorry for the opportunity, and therefore ordered them immediately to depart, with which, as they now found all their consequence was gone, they reluctantly complied, on receiving two dollars each as a bribe.

"We quitted Hamhamou about ten A. M. the water having nearly subsided, and occupying only a small part of the bed of the torrent along which, as before, we took our way. As we advanced, the gully gradually became narrower, and our guides urged us to make all possible expedition, fearing that more water might come

down from the mountains. This actually took place about noon, though there had been no appearance of rain; but fortunately it was not in such quantity as materially to impede our progress. Indeed our mules were so well trained, that it was no small obstacle which could disconcert them; and it was continual matter, both for surprise and satisfaction, to see with what care they passed over the rocks and loose stones that incumbered the road, as we repeatedly crossed and re-crossed the stream.

" We passed by a cave inhabited by a family of the natives; in it was a woman grinding corn, and some children playing about her. The general face of the country began to improve, the vegetation was fresher, and we observed a considerable variety of plants; some of them seemed to belong to the liliaceous tribe, and made a very beautiful appearance. Captain Rudland killed a curious bird, of which I have a drawing.

" At half past four we arrived at Sadoon, distant, from Hamhamou, according to our computation, about ten miles. This station is a small green plot, shaded by the same kind of trees as those which we saw at Weah; it is within a few yards of the stream, and is entirely surrounded by woody mountains. As there seemed to be a probability of rain, we pitched our tent, and stowed within it all our baggage for the night. From the time that the Ascari had left us, the nightly watch, which had been kept before by ourselves, was entrusted to Pearce, Hamed Chamie, and the Abyssinian Christian, and muskets fired at stated intervals. The thermometer at day break was 77°, and at noon 86°.

" July 24.—Our expectations of rain were happily disappointed, for the night proved very fine, though cold. In the morning we

observed that the stream had deposited the mud by which it was discoloured the evening before, and was now running quite clear: we saw in it a number of small fish resembling gudgeons.

" Between six and seven o'clock we recommenced our journey along the stony border of the stream, sometimes turning off into groves of trees, beneath the shade of which the ground was covered with green turf. Captain Rudland shot a small deer of the same kind as those we met with at Massowah, and a large bird of the grouse kind. After passing a small burying-ground, named Willo, we arrived at a thick grove, not unlike the mango topes of India: the trees of which it was composed also reminded us of the mango trees, from the form of their leaves and manner of bearing their fruit; this latter, however, was not a pulpy berry, but a hard nut inclosed within a thin husk. The natives all declared that it was poisonous; but Mr. Carter eat three or four of the kernels without experiencing any inconvenience.

" Soon after, we arrived at Tubbo, a very picturesque station, abounding in groves of various shady trees, and surrounded by abrupt cliffs and precipices. Bruce has well described this place; but though there were a great variety of birds around, their notes did not appear to me to be different from what we had often before heard. The mountains hereabouts are inhabited by the Hazorta, Welleihah, and above fifty other tribes, according to the concurrent reports of the people of Dixan and Arkeko; whence it may be inferred that almost each hill has its distinct tribe. The Hazorta are at present, and have been for many years, on friendly terms with the Nayib of Massowah; but a tribe to the eastward, called Hartoo, is at open war with him. A man of the former came down to us

unarmed, accompanied by his little boy; they were both of them black, and very thinly clad, and were very grateful on being presented with a small piece of tobacco.

"We saw here two large trees of the sycamore fig, being about nineteen feet in girth at their bases; out of the sides of the larger boughs were growing great bunches of figs, which, however, were for the most part devoured by the black ants before they were ripe: a species of Asclepias also grows here in great abundance, as indeed it does all the way from Arkeko; of its wood the inhabitants make handles for their knives and swords. We remained at Tubbo, enjoying the grateful coolness of its shade, till half-past five, and then it was not without difficulty that I prevailed on our people to go another stage. Our road still continued along the bed of the torrent; but besides the trees already mentioned, the tamarind now began to make its appearance: we also saw several monkeys on the hills; they were chiefly of three species; one was the kind common at Mocha; another was distinguished by its large size, and white hair on the head and beard; the third was much smaller than the others, and had a white beard, and white rings on the tail. We also saw the rock rabbit, which appeared to be like the Ashkoko of Bruce. In less than an hour we arrived at Illilah (Lila of Bruce), where we took up our quarters for the night under a tree, without taking the trouble to pitch the tent, there being no appearance of rain. We slept unmolested by wild beasts, and undisturbed by noise of any kind, but found the air very cold towards morning, especially during the strong gusts of wind which came down at intervals from the hills. Our computed distance from Sadoon was eight miles. The thermometer at 5 A.M. was 77°.

"July 25.— We resumed our journey at an early hour, notwithstanding the appearance of the sky foretold heavy rain. The road, which had been very perceptibly ascending all the way from Arkeko, now rose more rapidly; much elephants dung lay scattered about, and the branches of most of the fig-trees were lopped off nearly to the top, to give an opportunity to the cattle of browzing on the leaves and tender shoots, the grass being entirely burnt up: on the sides of the hills we perceived a few huts, and several of the inhabitants.

"After a march of nearly two hours we reached a place called Assubah, where there was a burying ground. We saw here a few men attending a large herd of cattle, of whom we purchased, for four dollars, a cow to serve as provision for our people during the ascent of Taranta. In about a quarter of an hour more we reached our station at the foot of that mountain. We had now proceeded with our camels as far as the unevenness of the ground would permit, it was therefore necessary to seek for some other method of getting our baggage conveyed to Dixan. For this purpose we opened a negociation for the use of some bullocks, with some of the Hazorta tribe, who inhabit the mountains; but not being able to agree on terms, we procured only one of these animals, and finally concluded a bargain with some men and boys, for the conveyance of our packages on their shoulders. During this transaction a man of some consequence among them, called Sheik Ummar, had been making a demand of tobacco, coffee, &c. for allowing us to pass the mountain; this claim not being mentioned to me immediately by those to whom the chief had stated it, he thought himself neglected, rose up in a violent passion, and seizing his spear and shield, rushed

down the hill with his attendants, muttering threats as he went. Being unwilling needlessly to hazard the serious consequences which this affair might produce, I sent after him, and in an amicable conference explained the mistake, and gratified him with the trifling presents required. In the evening the Hazorta chiefs all returned, accompanied by an old man of great authority among them. This venerable patriarch, who was said to have around him three hundred relations, placed himself on a rising ground, and having raised his garment on the end of a spear, and demanded silence, made a speech to the following effect.

"Be it known to all, that these people who are passing are great men, friends of the Nayib of Massowah, friends of the Sultaun of Habesh, friends of the Ras Welleta Selassé, and friends of the Baharnegash Yasous; we have received and eaten of their meat, drank of their coffee, and partaken of their tobacco, and are therefore their friends; let no man dare to molest them." On this there was a general buzz of approbation, and all was quiet and settled. We were however again disturbed by the Nayib's people in the evening, who made fresh demands upon us, backed with threats; to these, however, we paid no farther regard than arming ourselves as usual for the night, which we passed without molestation. The thermometer in the evening was 76°.

"July 26.—The Hazorta chief being this morning in a very friendly humour, I availed myself of the circumstance to make some enquiries concerning the tribe to which he belonged. He told me that they married four wives; that he himself had that number, and nine children, five girls, and four boys; that the population of the tribe amounted to about five thousand; that they

possessed many cattle, but seldom killed them, unless they were likely to die from disease or accidents, these animals forming the chief medium of barter for grain with the Abyssinians. On enquiring why they did not raise corn themselves, he replied, that they were ignorant of the art of doing so, otherwise they would willingly supply their own wants, without having recourse to others. He further informed me, that they never stripped the branches from the trees, except for the purpose of feeding their cattle, when the grass was burnt up or consumed. Hence it appears not improbable that these people might, by gentle means, be brought to a much higher state of civilization than that in which they are at present; with regard to their population, if their number be only half so many as the chief represented them, they must be considered as a very powerful tribe; and being a brave, though rude people, and in possession of a very strong country, through which lies the only practicable passage into Abyssinia from this quarter, they might assume and maintain an importance much superior to what they actually possess.

" At half past eleven, after about five hours continued wrangling with our people, during which we were several times on the point of proceeding to blows, we at length prevailed on them to fetch the mules, and we began to ascend the mountain; Sheik Umma, from whom I had obtained the preceding information, taking his leave with many expressions of friendship and humility. The first part of the road was smooth and easy; but, as we advanced, it became steeper and more incommoded with loose stones and masses of rock, over which however our excellent mules carried us with great facility, and in perfect safety. Such of the Nayib's people as

we had still retained with us to serve as guides, knowing that when we should have crossed the mountain, they could no longer with safety continue their insolence and rapacity, resolved to throw every obstruction in the way of our further progress; accordingly they began by deserting us: we fortunately however met with a young Sheik descending the mountain, who, for a small recompense, agreed to be our guide, upon which we continued our journey. In about a quarter of an hour afterwards we were overtaken by the Nayib's guide, who had already given us so much trouble: he now insisted on our halting, giving us to understand that there was neither water, provisions, nor resting-place to be found above, and therefore that we must take up our station where we were, and proceed over the mountain the next day. Having said this, he immediately seized Captain Rudland's mule very roughly, and on my passing him he came forwards to lay hold of mine; this however I prevented by drawing my hanger, and threatening him to cut him down if he offered the least molestation. On this he desisted, and seated himself on a stone by the road side in a violent rage. But we had not yet entirely got rid of him, for by the time that we had advanced half a mile farther, he again overtook us, having by some means or other got Captain Rudland's sword from the Sheik, who had been entrusted by that gentleman to carry it up the hill. He now began to abuse Mr. Carter, who had resisted the attempts made to stop the mule on which he rode, and was on the point of drawing the sword, when Mr. Carter took a pistol from his girdle and presented it at him; at the same moment Captain Rudland jumped from his mule and wrested the sword from him. Having thus failed in all his attempts to detain us another day, and

being probably intimidated by the result of the last, he gave up the point in despair, and we experienced no farther trouble.

"The whole of this mountain was thickly set with kolquall, which grows nearly to the height of forty feet: towards the top the berry-bearing cedar of Bruce, (called by our guide Cereder) began to make its appearance, and became more abundant in proportion as we ascended; the summit of the mountain being covered with a thick copse of this tree. In the most rugged path of the road we dismounted, to ease our mules, and walked for about half a mile; we then remounted, and gained the top without any further difficulty. As soon as we arrived we found, on looking at our watches, that it was only half past two; so that, notwithstanding all our delays, we had been occupied only three hours in overcoming the exaggerated perils and toils of the passage of Taranta. We now directed our course into a beautiful little green valley shaded by cedars, and adorned by a pool of water; the sight of which was particularly grateful to us, as we had been repeatedly told that there was none on the top; near it was grazing a large herd of cattle. Wandering about the valley we discovered a great profusion of mushrooms, of which, notwithstanding they were considered by the natives as poisonous, we collected a large quantity: part we stewed for immediate use, and the remainder we bottled, and found them both wholesome and highly grateful, in the total want of vegetables which we afterwards experienced. Soon afterwards, Captain Rudland shot an owl of a very large species, and Mr. Carter and myself collected a number of flowers, several of which had bulbous roots; among the shrubs were the sweet briar, and several others highly aromatic. We were soon overtaken by the men and boys who had charge of

PASS of TARANTA.

our baggage; one of our heaviest boxes, containing ammunition and dollars, of considerable weight, was, to our surprize, brought up by a boy about thirteen years of age; and one of the walls of our large tent, together with the two poles, were conveyed by one man from the bottom to the top of the pass in about four hours. It is not easy to reconcile these facts, with Bruce's representation of the extraordinary difficulties with which he had to contend during two days in going over the same distance, unless the re-establishment of peace between the Nayib, and the tribe of Hazorta, had been attended by a surprizing improvement of the road, which is not probable, as by Bruce's own account the trade, if we may judge by the number of slaves, was then fully equal to what it is at present. Besides, we did not meet with a single hyæna or troglodytical cave; and luckily "had not our hands and knees cut by frequent falls, or our faces torn by thorny bushes; which last, indeed, appears scarcely possible in so open and frequented a path. The only part of our baggage that did not reach us till late at night, was the fly of the tent, and my bed, which were carried on the back of an ox; in consequence of which, the evening being very cold, we arranged our baggage in a half circle, made a good fire in the centre, and slept on the walls of the tent, having previously regaled ourselves with salt-fish, rice, and stewed mushrooms. The thermometer in the evening was 64°.

"July 27.—A shower fell in the course of the night, and when we awoke, the sky was so lowering, that, though our guide declared it was only the common morning mist, we thought it prudent to pitch our tent, under which we obtained shelter from a smart shower of rain which fell soon after. The tops of Taranta, surrounding the

little valley in which we slept, had hitherto been obscured by fleeting clouds; at seven they began to clear away, upon which we dispatched the baggage forward, and about eight o'clock set out ourselves. We had not however ascended the first rising ground before heavy rain came on, and continued, with very short intermission, during the whole of the day. Thence the descent became very rapid, and the road lay through gullies, down which the waters were beginning to run with great force; but none of these obstacles seemed to delay our mules: they descended almost like goats from rock to rock, and not one of the whole number made a single false step in the course of the day. Notwithstanding our cloth-coats and camolines, we were all wet to the skin, and, on account of the difficulties of the road, were not able long to keep together; so that, while Captain Rudland and myself were proceeding on the direct road, Mr. Carter and Pearce were wandering wherever the mules chose to carry them, and, as it afterwards appeared, they had actually arrived within half a mile of Dixan, when they turned, and made a circuit of about five miles.

" Captain Rudland and myself took shelter in a village about three miles from Dixan, under a hut divided into many compartments, and inhabited by several families. They paid us every attention that their miserable means would allow; and an old woman, who spoke a little Arabic, brought us some water which was much discoloured; among the group we observed two handsome young women, who had fine teeth, and silver rings in their ears. House-sparrows were seen to fly from under the roofs of the huts; and the cattle were lodged in the same apartment as the women and children. The mode of building here is by raising

walls of the required height, adjoining, and at right angles, to a steep slope on the side of a hill, and then laying on a roof of sods, pitched so as to correspond with the general descent of the hill, which gives the appearance of caves to these habitations. We much regretted having nothing with us to give these poor people but an empty wine bottle; with this, however, they were well satisfied.

" Our companions soon after joined us, and about two in the afternoon, after the most unpleasant day we had yet experienced, we reached Dixan, completely wet, and without any of our baggage, which was all scattered upon the road in proportion to the strength or willingness of those who carried it. We were received by the Baharnegash Yasous, and the head men of the town, who were waiting at a house prepared for us.

" Soon after our arrival, the Baharnegash sent us some large flat barley cakes, some honey, and hydromel; and upon this, with a little of our Dhalac cheese, we were glad to make our dinner.

" July 28.—The thermometer in the morning at day break on Taranta was 59°; in the course of the day it varied from 61° to 66°. We passed a most miserable night, the air being extremely cold, (thermometer 59°) and the few cloaths we had with us completely wet; for my own part, I sat till nearly morning with my feet in the embers of a small fire which occupied the centre of our cave. I call it so, because being constructed on the same plan as the habitation before described, it is evidently copied from natural or artificial excavations. It may be said, in favor of this mode of building, that there is hardly any other better suited to the hilly nature of the country, or which, with so little labour, will afford an equally secure protection to the inhabitants and their cattle from the inconveni-

ences of the weather, and the wild beasts that are continually prowling about during the night. We all found ourselves unwell in the morning, in consequence of the fatigue of yesterday; nor did the gloominess of the weather, for the rain still continued, contribute to raise our spirits. At about ten o'clock, Hamed Chamie, and the rest of our servants, arrived in as wretched a condition as ourselves; they had however been better accommodated during the night, at a village where they had procured a sheep, and were well treated by the inhabitants. Our boxes were brought in one by one, most of them drenched with water; but, fortunately, the cloth and presents designed for the Ras, and my smaller box of valuables, escaped undamaged. Towards evening the greater part of our baggage arrived, and an additional demand of five dollars was made by Guebra Michael: this Hamed Chamie resisted. The Baharnegash at first expressed his displeasure at this new charge; however, he afterwards came to me and stated, that his nephew had promised the money as a gratuity to the bearers, some of whom he had pressed into the service on the road. To this Guebra Michael gave his hand as a pledge; on which I ordered the money to be paid to him. It rained the whole day; the thermometer varied from 61° to 63°.

" July 29.—We were kept awake during the greater part of the last night by the barking of dogs, which were alarmed at the near approach of hyænas and other wild beasts.

" I had a conversation this morning with the Baharnegash respecting our conveyance hence to Adowa. He said that his orders were to pay us every possible attention; and added, that my letters had been forwarded to the Ras; but as he was unacquainted with

their contents, he should be glad of some information respecting the object of my coming. I replied, that the English was a very powerful nation, which had complete command of the sea; and that an English nobleman, then at Mocha, had sent me for the purpose of promoting an intercourse of friendship with Abyssinia; which, if properly encouraged, could not fail of proving most beneficial to the whole country. I was induced thus far to explain myself, not only from the generally friendly manner in which he had behaved towards us, but also to secure his good offices in furtherance of our views. He expressed his entire satisfaction with my communication, and proceeded to inform me, that it was necessary to write immediately to Basha Abdallah, Secretary to Nebred Araur, Governor of Adowa, stating what animals we should want for our own riding, and for carrying our baggage, which, on my requisition, would be immediately sent down; that he himself had only three mules, but that they were all at our service. I told him, whatever had been arranged by the Ras, would meet with my hearty concurrence and begged that he would hasten the messenger; and also urge to Basha Abdallah the necessity of sending the mules as speedily as posible, since I was obliged soon to return to Massowah. Accordingly I wrote a letter, which he promised to dispatch immediately, requesting to be furnished with twenty-five mules; to which I was led to expect an answer in six days. For the carriage of the letter I paid two dollars. I found the Baharnegash himself was under orders to attend me up to the Ras, which he professed he should do with pleasure. I was informed that, after we had ascended the mountain of Taranta, the natives, headed by that rascal the Nayib's guide, had assembled for the purpose of detaining

our baggage, but our friend Guebra Michael, by his very strenuous exertions, succeeded in getting it up in safety. This, joined to the very insolent manner in which our guide had endeavoured to stop us on the ascent, as already mentioned, gave us good reason to suppose that some serious mischief was meditated, which our promptitude in crossing the mountain enabled us to avoid.

" The day being tolerably clear, we collected some plants, dried all our things, and made ourselves in other respects as comfortable as our situation would admit.

" July 30.—I was engaged all the morning in writing letters, copying my journal, and preparing a packet for Lord Valentia, containing an account of occurrences up to our arrival at Dixan, which was dispatched in the afternoon, and, as I afterwards learned, arrived safely. Towards evening Captain Rudland walked out with his gun, in hopes of meeting with game or hyænas; he however met with no success, having seen only two large spotted deer, which were exceedingly shy: during his absence I employed myself in taking a sketch of the mountains of Tigré. The day was clear and fine, though with much thunder and lightning in the evening. The thermometer was 66°. We were none of us well, which I attributed to change of food and climate.

" July 31.—A letter, of which the following is a translation, was received by the Baharnegash from the Ras's Secretary at Adowa, whom the natives style Bashaw Abdallah. After the usual compliments, ' Expecting that by this time the English are arrived at Dixan, I shall send my man Negada Moosa for them with horses and mules. I desire that you will pay them all the attention in your power, and will dispatch a messenger as soon as possible to acquaint

Ras Welleta Selassé, with their safe arrival. The Ras commands that all care may be taken of them; that you will provide them with houses, with meat, and with drink of the very best, as your head must answer for it. In short, take as much care of them as you would of Ras Welleta Selassé, and so soon as they arrive, send me instant intelligence thereof.'

" In consequence of the receipt of this letter, I thought proper to make remonstrances about the high price that we were charged for provisions. The Baharnegash told me that he would very willingly give whatever he had of his own, but that the articles which we wanted, were such as they themselves did not consume; and, owing to a late scarcity, which had been felt very severely so far as this place, they were extremely difficult to procure; it was not therefore in his power to afford us any relief in this particular; a representation which, from the poverty of the place, I had afterwards reason to consider true.

" The day was tolerably fine: about eleven in the forenoon, however, there fell a smart shower, during which an alarm was given of an hyæna being seen near our cave, by Mr. Carter and Pearce. Captain Rudland went out with his gun in pursuit of it, but was unsuccessful. I was myself too unwell to stir out, and was therefore engaged in drawing. More rain fell in the evening.

" August 1.—This morning the messenger who was dispatched with my letter to the Ras from Massowah, arrived hither on his way back from Antalow. He reported, that on the receipt of the letter the Ras issued immediate orders to a chief at Adowa, to have in readiness the same number of animals as we had engaged from the Nayib; and to send them to meet us at this place as soon as he

received intelligence of our arrival. The Nayib's charge to me for the conveyance of this letter, was, as I before mentioned, thirty dollars, of which the bearer declared that he was paid only two. Frequent showers fell during the day. The thermometer in our cave was 70°.

August 2.—I walked out in the morning with Captain Rudland; collected a few plants, and killed a bird called by the natives Warré, of which I took a sketch. Our people were engaged in repacking the baggage preparatory to our departure. The day was fine without rain. The thermometer in our cave was 75°.

The Baharnegash, attended by his brother and Guebra Michael, paid us a visit at a late hour in the evening, and, after some conversation on common occurrences, began mentioning the names of several, supposed English, gentlemen, who had formerly passed this place; these we imagined to have been Bruce and his attendants: they soon concluded their discourse by saying, that our countrymen had made the inhabitants of the place a present of one hundred dollars, and therefore they hoped that I would do the same. Upon my evading this, and referring the Baharnegash to the Ras, he went so far as to assert that he had a rightful claim to the money, and being an independent chief, would demand it in the Ras's presence. I replied, that to my certain knowledge no English gentlemen had ever given any such sum; that one only had ever passed through this town before, and that he had given only forty dollars to the late Baharnegash, for which sum he had received in return a fine black horse: that we had already been at a very considerable expense, and as we were going up by desire of the Ras, and looked for no advantage ourselves from the journey, I should certainly not give

him any thing at present, but should on my arrival at Antalow report the affair to the Ras, and guide myself entirely by his determination.

" After this had been explained, the brother began to raise his voice and interfere; but I stopped him at once, by telling him that I would not suffer him to meddle with the affair; on which he rose from his seat in a violent passion and left the house, followed, to our great satisfaction, by the Baharnegash and his nephew, who seemed happy thus to get rid of a demand which they found themselves too weak to support.

" In a few minutes Hamed Chamie returned with a message from the Baharnegash, saying, that his people were very hungry, and that it was on this account only that he had asked for money; he hoped, notwithstanding, that we should continue good friends, and that he was ready to accompany us as soon as the mules arrived; he also begged that what had passed might not be mentioned to the Ras.

" August 3.—I took a walk, as usual, after breakfast, and collected a few specimens of plants. The day was fine, and without rain. In the course of our walk we saw a large bird much resembling the Abba Gumba of Bruce; but a shower coming on at the moment, prevented our sportsmen from pursuing it. When the rain was over, Captain Rudland went out again, and killed a large bird called by the natives Derhomai (or water fowl, from Derho, a bird, and mai, water), of which I made a drawing. This bird inhabits low marshy grounds, and feeds on worms. We had it cooked, and found the flesh tender and well flavoured.

" At a late hour in the evening the brother of the Baharnegash

waited upon Hamed Chamie, repeating his demands for money in the name of the town's people, declaring that it was their right, and that they were determined to be paid. Hamed Chamie said, that an answer had already been given by me to the Baharnegash; and he very properly got up, called for him, and brought him to me, complaining of the behaviour of the people. The Baharnegash, after desiring Hamed Chamie to pay no attention to them, said, that as our food and lodging had been provided by himself, no other person could possibly have any demand upon us.

" August 5.—Nothing particular occurred this day. The weather was bright and mild, like a May day in England.

" August 6.—So much rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning, fell this day, that we were scarcely able to stir out of doors. I amused myself with drawing, and Captain Rudland in collecting information from the inhabitants.

" The Baharnegash was very urgent to have a picture for the church; accordingly I set Pearce to work, who painted one of the Virgin Mary and the infant Christ, in most flaming colours, which gave great satisfaction. The thermometer in our hut at noon was 64°

" August 7.—A letter was received from Basha Abdallah at Adowa, stating, that the mules were not to leave that place till to-morrow, and would therefore probably not arrive here before Sunday. This delay was attributed to the necessity of sending to the Ras at Antalow, for an order to have more mules purchased, as the people at Adowa refused to send their mules for our accommodation.

" A kafila came in from Massowah, by which the Baharnegash

received a letter from Currum Chund; but no answer arrived to either of our letters sent to Massowah. Reports were in circulation that Captain Court had been firing on Massowah, as the natives described an iron kettle which burst over the town.

" We heard that the dead bodies of three men had been found, washed down by the torrent, on this side of Taranta.

" Our sportsmen, having seen a dead horse and an ass lying in the skirts of the town, were out for two hours in the evening in pursuit of the hyænas, which they supposed would be attracted by the carcases. They discovered a great number of these animals growling and fighting over their food, and making at times a hideous roaring: they must be possessed of great strength, as a single one was observed dragging along the entire carcase of the horse: in size they varied considerably, but Captain Rudland and Pearce both agreed that one of them, which they wounded, was quite as large as a small ass. Some dogs of the village were gnawing the carcase, but they retired, snarling, to a small distance, on the approach of the hyænas, who in their turn did not seem to have any inclination to attack the dogs. Intermixed with the hyænas, and feeding on the carcase very amicably at the same time with them, were smaller animals, supposed to be jackalls. The morning was cold and foggy, but the weather cleared up about breakfast time, and continued tolerably fine for the remainder of the day.

" Intelligence arrived that a kafila, on its way hither from Massowah, had suffered severely by the sudden rise of the torrent at Elleilah, one man, ten camels, and a great part of the baggage were washed away.

" August 8.—I walked out in the morning, and collected some

plants. In the evening we all sallied forth on an alarm of an hyæna. We saw two, one of which Captain Rudland was lucky enough to shoot; the ball passed through the right shoulder and lodged in the neck, on which the animal immediately fell. Pearce ran up to it, and threw large stones upon its head, and Mr. Carter thrust his sword down its throat, which soon dispatched it.

"On hearing the shot, the people of the village all came out, many of them armed with spears; but we could not prevail on any of them to assist in carrying our game home, as all the Abyssinians hold the hyæna in utter abhorrence. Our servants, however, brought him in great triumph, and hung him up to one of the posts before our door, that I might take a drawing of him in the morning.

"August 9.—My first care in the morning was to examine the hyæna that we had shot the preceding night: it was a male, of the spotted species (canis crocuta), and is called by the natives Zubbee; its prevailing colour is a dirty light brown inclining to yellow, with black spots: the extremity of the tail is covered with long and coarse black hair, like that of a horse's tail; on the back is a ridge of long hair, of which that part between the loins and head inclines forwards, while the rest points towards the tail, shortening by degrees, so that it lies quite smooth on the rump. The length of this animal from the nose to the insertion of the tail was four feet three inches; its height, from the top of the shoulder to the sole of the fore foot, was two feet four inches and a half; and from the crown of the rump to the sole of the hind foot was two feet one inch and a half. We afterwards saw several considerably larger, and of a darker colour.

" When the inhabitants came out to us last night, on hearing the report of Captain Rudland's gun, they were accompanied by several of their dogs, which, as soon as they perceived the hyæna stretched out and roaring on the ground, fell upon him, and seized him with great fury; but, as I have already mentioned, these two animals, in ordinary circumstances, though mutually inimical, seldom venture on a contest. We have more than once observed their passing and repassing, each snarling, but neither venturing to begin an attack; and, one evening, both were seen feeding on the same carcase. The hyæna, however, always retires from the presence of man; and the dogs, by barking, give notice to their master of its approach.

" While we were touching and skinning the hyæna, the inhabitants looked on with evident signs of horror and disgust; the Baharnegash, however, begged the liver of the animal, which, forms one of the ingredients of an ink in which charms are written, that are worn round the arms as amulets from all evil. The man who was sent for the liver seemed as much afraid of it as of a snake, and carried it away with great caution on the end of a long stick.

" After we had skinned the hyæna, we left him on the grass about one hundred yards from our hut, where he remained untouched by the dogs or vultures during the whole day; but as soon as it became dusk, the carcase was dragged off and devoured by other hyænas.

" Having finished these observations, we took a walk of about three or four miles, but met with little worthy of observation. We killed a lizard of a light blue colour, of which I made a drawing,

and took a camelion alive. On our return we were overtaken with very heavy rain, hail, thunder, and lightning.

" I was engaged during the afternoon in making drawings of some plants that we had collected in our walk.

" News arrived that Captain Court had been under the necessity of landing fifteen men from the Panther at Massowah, and of threatening the Nayib, before he could get possession of the packet which we dispatched hence: to this no answer has as yet been received.

" August 10.—I wrote a letter this morning to the Ras, informing him of our delay at Dixan, and that, as we had received no intelligence with respect to the time when the mules from Adowa would probably arrive, we should in three days proceed with such conveyances as we might be able to procure at this place.

" Five dollars were required by the Baharnegash for the carriage of this letter to Antalow; with which demand, having no alternative, I was obliged to comply.

" We rode a short distance out of town, but the weather compelled us very soon to return; on our way back we passed over the highest part of the irregular hill on which Dixan is built; and which Bruce has not very accurately described, when he compares it to a sugar loaf, as may be seen in one of my larger views.

" On our return, we found that a fresh demand had been made on Hamed Chamie for some pepper for the messenger about to depart with our letter to Antalow; but this, being too valuable an article to part with, we absolutely refused. The letter, in consequence, was returned by the Baharnegash with the five dollars to

Hamed Chamie; I immediately sent for the Baharnegash, and represented to him my surprise at what had passed: assuring him that I should leave Dixan in three days, and, if the letter should not arrive at Antalow before me, the blame would fall upon him. I afterwards thought it expedient to inclose the letter to Bashaw Abdallah, as the communication from Adowa to Antalow appeared more open than from this place. The Baharnegash attempted, but in vain, to prevent the letter being sent, by telling us he had information that the mules would be here to-morrow.

" In the evening there arrived a man from the village of Dagozie, two days journey hence, with intelligence that the mules from Adowa were near at hand. He brought also a lean cow from his uncle, who is Kantiba, or chief of the village above mentioned, as a present; in return for which I gave him two pieces of cloth. This, however, did not satisfy him; for, when we had retired to rest, he came to inform me, that, as he was about to set off for Hamazen, if I had any thing to give him, he begged to receive it immediately. After enquiring what were his demands, I learned that he had the modesty to expect a gift of an equal value with the mule he rode upon, which he estimated at the trifling sum of forty dollars; upon this I referred him to Hamed Chamie, as was invariably my custom on such occasions, and he soon got rid of him, by recommending him to take his cow back again, for which he thought he had already been most amply paid.

" August 11.—In the course of this morning two men arrived, bringing intelligence from Negada Moosa, that the mules would be here on the morrow; but we had so many similar accounts, that I told the Baharnegash I should pay no farther attention to verbal

messengers, and, as these people might have come merely for the purpose of getting the usual recompense of a piece of cloth, I did not choose to comply with the custom any longer.

" Heavy rain attended by thunder came on at noon, and the remainder of the day was so dark and dismal, that in our hut we could not see to do any thing without a candle. Our whole party was unwell with violent colds. We killed a vulture, which upon examination, we pronounced " to be a bird of passage," since we could not discover any of that powder which, Bruce says, the hill birds of this country are provided with, and which, it is to be observed, all the birds that we have hitherto killed have been without.

" August 12.—We passed the morning in anxious expectation of the arrival of the mules, and in preparing our fire-arms, &c. for the journey. About twelve o,clock intelligence was brought us of their approach, and soon after, the Baharnegash introduced Hadjee Hamed, and Negada Moosa; they brought each of them a letter from the Ras, in Arabic, mentioning the former as a man in his confidence, to whom we were to make known all our wishes, and the latter as appointed to take charge of our persons and baggage. They seemed to be men of more respectability than any we had hitherto met with since we left Mocha, and their retinue and attendants were numerous, and decently clad. They brought us information that the Ras and his family were well; that he was himself exceedingly anxious to see us, and had given orders to bring us up, without delay, by the nearest road, to his presence; that all things were prepared for us by his special orders in the villages through which we had to pass; and that if any man should dare to molest

us, his head must answer for it. They likewise mentioned, that when we arrived within two days march of Antalow, an additional retinue would meet us. Hadjee Hamed, immediately on his coming into our hut, recognized me, and I soon recollected that we had met at the village of Badoor, on one of the islands of Port Mornington, and that he then informed me he was on his way from the Sheriffe of Mecca to Ras Welleta Selassé. After having taken coffee, they retired with Hamed Chamie, and I gave an order for the purchase of five sheep for the better accommodation of the party.

"Dixan was now extremely full of strangers, for besides our attendants from the Ras, there were kafilas hourly coming in both from Massowah and Adowa. The day was cloudy with a little thunder.

"August 13.—Hadjee Hamed and Negada Moosa sent Hamed Chamie early in the morning to deliver me the mules sent by the Ras; I therefore went to the door of our hut, and all the mules, in number twenty-one, were brought before me; sixteen of them were of a large and coarse breed, for the conveyance of baggage, and five of a lighter, for our riding. This ceremony being over, the Baharnegash informed me, that he would provide me with three more, a sufficient number to accommodate all our people. I gave orders to have every thing prepared for setting out by day-light on the morrow, having consented to remain here this day at the request of our new attendants, who were anxious for a little rest, and with whom I felt desirous to commence our journey on as good terms as possible. They afterwards brought me flour and other necessaries, and informed us that every thing in future, would be provided, for us, free of expense, by the Ras's commands.

"In the evening the Baharnegash visited us with his bro ther who had been a very troublesome fellow; and as we knew that he could not come for any good purpose, we evaded all communication, on the plea of our interpreter being out of the way. The cause of their visit, as we afterwards learned, was this: the Baharnegash had promised us three mules, but being himself in possession of only two, he expected to obtain the third from his brother. This man, however, positively refused to accommodate him, saying, that as we had made him no present we should have nothing belonging to him. The Baharnegash used the most urgent entreaties; but all in vain. The only terms on which he would agree were, that his brother should give him an equal share of what he might receive from us. The Baharnegash told him that he was going on with us to Antalow, and that it might be very long before he should receive any thing; he was nevertheless willing, to give him half, so anxious was he to keep his word with us. His brother, however, demanding immediate payment, the Baharnegash was under the necessity of sending to a neighbouring village to purchase a mule, which was brought in the evening.

"The houses of Dixan are flat-roofed, and without windows, and, instead of chimneys, have two pots of earthenware rising out of the roof, but so narrow as to give vent only to a small portion of the smoke: the houses are built round a hill commanding an extensive prospect of the mountains of Tigré, and country around, which consists almost entirely of rocky mountains, on many of which are to be observed villages constructed much in the same style as at Dixan.

"The only public building in this place is the chapel, which

Painted. Angus sculpt.

MOUNTAINS OF TIGRE FROM DIXAN

Published May 1.1805 by William Miller Albemarle Street London

we visited. It is a place of a mean appearance, with a conical thatched roof, and mud walls. On entering the door of the inclosure (A) the boys who conducted us kissed the door posts: and we, in conformity to their customs, pulled off our shoes and hats, on entering the door of the building itself (B). The inner building was shut. The aisle that surrounded it (c c) was strewn with rushes; and on the walls were painted rude figures in glaring colours, of St. George and St. Haimonout on horseback, with spears, and various other strange figures in as many strange postures. The priests bear large keys in their hands, like that which the painters place in the hand of St. Peter. The natives all appear fond of crosses. The Baharnegash was highly pleased with one given to him by Captain Rudland. Most of the Christians here have a cross marked upon their breast, or their right arm, or forehead, which, with a blue silk string round their necks, they seem to think indispensable badges of their religion. They kiss every thing that has the least claim to sanctity or respect, a strong instance of which was the Baharnegash's kissing the letter which I delivered to him for the Ras's Secretary, Bashaw Abdalla

" The people whom I have hitherto seen, with few exceptions, are idle, ignorant, and dirty; they are of a very dark complexion, few having a claim to the appellation of copper-coloured, given them by Bruce. It is usual for them to say prayers over every thing they eat, drink, receive, or give away, concluding the ceremony with blowing upon it, in the same way as a conjuror does on his balls.

" In these prayers they always turn the face to the east, as they turn the heads of the animals which they kill to the west. They

refuse to taste of any thing killed by Mahomedans, whom they hold in great contempt.

" Boys marry at fourteen years of age, girls at ten, eleven, and twelve; both are circumcised on the eighth day after their birth; this operation is performed by women.

" The number of wives possessed by each man varies from one to ten, according to their property, or as they are able to support them, as each woman must be furnished with a separate place of residence.

" Most of the laborious occupations, both abroad and at home, devolve upon the women; such as grinding the corn, bringing in wood and water, which is brought from a valley about a mile from the town, cultivating the ground, and picking herbs for the consumption of the day. They carry their children on their backs, and wear tanned hides round their waists; their necks and arms are ornamented with beads, and white shells; and the women of the higher class allow the nails on the left hand to grow to a great length, wearing cases of leather on their fingers, several inches long, to preserve them.

" Slaves are very dear at this place, if we are to be guided by the report of the inhabitants; but the price of these animals, like that of every other put up to the highest bidder, is greatly regulated by their outward appearance. If nature has been favourable, and given them fine features, with a tolerably fair skin, they sell for a great deal more than those of a darker colour.

" The proportion of land capable of cultivation, as far as we had an opportunity of observing, is scanty, consisting of a few spots on the sides of the hills, and the drier parts of the valleys.

" The present seems to be the season of spring in this country; some of the inhabitants are now ploughing their fields with wooden ploughs. These are rudely shaped out of the root or branch of a tree, and sometimes the shares are formed of iron. After twice ploughing the land, the clods are broken with rude hooked instruments by the women, who at the same time pick out the weeds; the grain is then strewn upon the ground, and they seem to make choice of the worst samples for seed. There are a great number of goats belonging to this place, but they are now mostly dry, in consequence of which milk is not to be obtained without great difficulty; the whole that we have been able to procure has not exceeded a pint per day. A small goat costs half a dollar. The sheep are most of them black, but some of them have white faces: the skins of all are valuable commodities, as they make excellent coverings; and no man moves a hundred yards from his house without having one hung over his shoulders.

" We have as yet observed but few cows, and those miseraby poor. There is plenty of barley and juwarry, but we have not hitherto seen any wheat.

" White cloths are preferred at Dixan before any other colour. Tobacco, black pepper, looking-glasses, snuff, spirits, and large beads, are good articles for barter: green beads are at present in fashion, and therefore fetch a better price than any others.

" The musical instrument that we heard at Massowah, and which I imagine to be Bruce's lyre, is in use here; it was played upon by one of the young priests. Their singing is, if possible, ruder than their music, and both together are intolerable.

" Bruce says that they allow no figures in relief; the few that

we have yet seen are two faces at the head of the couch on which I sleep.

" The duties arising from the merchandize that passes through Dixan are collected by the person, at whose house the travelling merchant chooses to put up. Travellers are housed and fed during their stay, for which the landlord is recompensed either in goods or money. The rate at which they pay on these occasions is said to be so very exorbitant, that I could give no credit to the report.

" The Baharnegash seems to preside over Dixan and six or seven adjoining villages; these appear to have agreed among themselves to continue in peace with, and faithful to, each other. If at any time an offence be committed, the whole body assembles, and the affair is discussed; but punishment is seldom inflicted, because the offender has an easy mode of evading it, by joining another hill tribe. It has been repeated to us by many of them, that they pay no tribute to the Ras; and they asserted more than once that they were entirely independent of the Tigré government. This, however, from several circumstances that occurred, we did not believe to be strictly the case; they may not pay him any revenue, but it is evident that they stand in awe of his authority.

" The Baharnegash carries on the affairs of his government entirely by verbal messages. Judging from the little attention that the Geesh characters in Bruce's book excited when we shewed them to him, I do not believe that he is himself capable either of writing or reading.

" There are no schools for the education of youth, in any language, that I could find out, at Dixan: we met with only a few persons who could read the church Bible, which I apprehend is the

sole book in their possession; and those who have obtained even this degree of knowledge are considered as priests; at least in their own opinion. Of this order, upon trial, not one in twenty could write the characters which they read; indeed we found but one man in Dixan who attempted to write the native tongue: from this person we begged the different characters of the Geesh alphabet; but his obvious ignorance in this respect, gave us evident proof of his inability. Upon enquiry, we found that this person was not a resident at Dixan, but travelled about the country in the character of a physician as well as priest, and had for some time past been exercising his skill in the former profession.

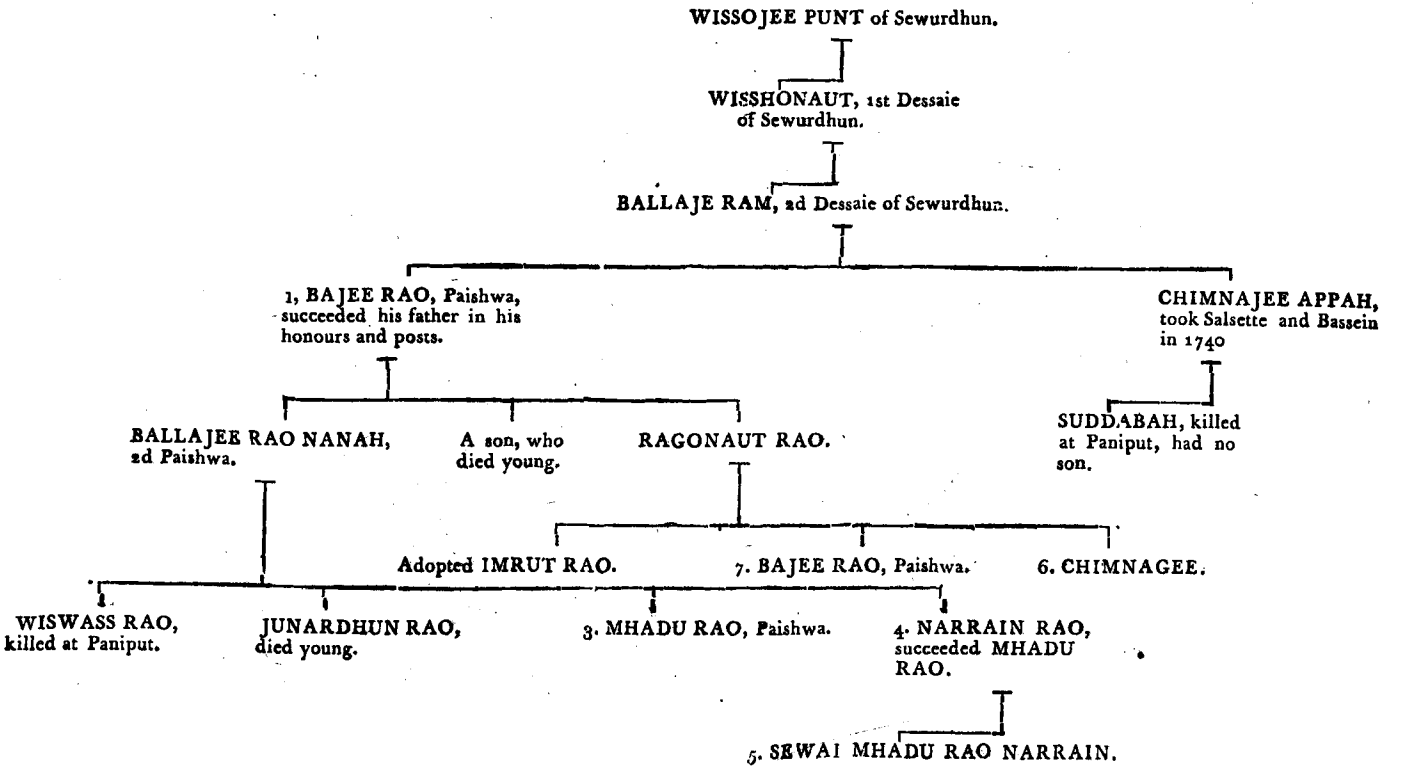
"The present Baharnegash is a tall elderly man, with a mild countenance; the top of his head bald, and his hair bushy round his ears. His dress, like the rest of his people, consisted of a single garment wrapped round his body, and his only ensign of office was a peeled staff about six feet long, which was also borne by his relations, and those in authority under him. He performs the duties both of chief priest and governor, and recites prayers to his people both morning and evening, on which account he incurs some ridicule at court. The form of prayer commences with chanting three times over Jehu Arozoo (praise be to Jesus), in which he is joined by the whole assembly. This is followed by Binta Mariam Arozoo; then Haimanot Johannim, Georgis, Welleta Selassé, &c. which are all in like manner three times chanted by the congregation. To this succeeds the invocation, with which it began, Jehu Arozoo; the chief then recites several prayers, to which the congregation answer, Amen. The service ends with the whole congregation prostrating themselves three times, with their faces to

the ground, calling out on the name of God—Tabbait—Tabbait—Tabbait. After this prostration the Baharnegash generally continues praying by himself for a short time, and immediately after issues orders for the day, which chiefly relate to the care of the cattle, and similar employments.

APPENDIX.

I.

PEDIGREE OF THE PAISHWA, referred to in p. 140.


WISSOJEE PUNT of Sewurdhun.
WISSHONAUT, 1st Dessaie of Sewurdhun.
BALLAJE RAM, 2d Dessaie of Sewurdhun.
1, BAJEE RAO, Paishwa, succeeded his father in his honours and posts.
CHIMNAJEE APPAH, took Salsette and Bassein in 1740
BALLAJEE RAO NANAH, 2d Paishwa.
A son, who died young.
RAGONAUT RAO.
SUDDABAH, killed at Paniput, had no son.
Adopted IMRUT RAO.
7. BAJEE RAO, Paishwa.
6. CHIMNAGEE.
WISWASS RAO, killed at Paniput.
JUNARDHUN RAO, died young.
3. MHADU RAO, Paishwa.
4. NARRAIN RAO, succeeded MHADU RAO.
5. SEWAI MHADU RAO NARRAIN.

II.

Duties proposed to be levied by the Nayib of Massowah; referred to in p. 245.

Four dollars for a bale of tobacco of fifteen maunds.

One-fourth of a dollar for one Bengal bag of 166 lb. of rice.

One dollar and twenty-two komassie for nine frassel of pepper.

Three dollars for twelve Bombay maunds, (28 lb.) of cotton.

One-fourth of a dollar for one frassel of kalai (block tin).

One-fourth of a dollar for one frassel of gessel (tutenac).

Three dollars for twenty frassel of red copper.

Two dollars for four guz (twenty-eight inches) of red or blue broad-cloth.

Eight dollars for one corge (twenty pieces) of fine piece goods.

Five dollars for one corge of blue cosses.

Two dollars and a half for one corge of coarse cloth. Baftas.

One dollar and a quarter for one corge of chintz, coarse or fine.

One dollar and a half for eight guz of kincaub or silk.

Two dollars for eight guz of velvet.

No duty on iron or gunpowder.

III.

Extracts from Captain Court's Report on his return from Massowah; referred to in p. 470.

On the 20th of July, having left Mr. Salt, with a guard of sepoys under Mr. Crawford, at Arkeko, I reached the vessel about eleven o'clock; and as the land wind almost ceased to blow before we left Arkeko in the cutter, I suffered much from the intense heat which prevails during the interval of calm between the land and sea breeze. I had hardly been on board one hour, when a hard squall of hot wind off the land suddenly arose, in which we parted our cable. Enveloped in a cloud of dust, and suspecting from the appearance of the sky that we were about to encounter very severe weather, I thought it unsafe to let go another anchor, and at once determined to avail myself of the opportunity then afforded me, by the wind blowing from the north-westward, to run the vessel out of the harbour, and endeavour to get sea-room, before the gale should become too violent; and, in the event of the weather clearing up, it was my intention, as well with a view to intimidate the Nayib from raising any more obstacles to Mr. Salt's immediate departure, as to facilitate Mr. Crawford's return to the vessel with the guard of sepoys, to have tried to effect a passage into Arkeko Bay, and bring the Panther to an anchor abreast that town. The squall continued with great violence till half past four P.M.; and it was not till half past seven o'clock that we had accomplished the purpose abovementioned.

As soon as the vessel was anchored, I sent the cutter on shore well manned and armed, under charge of Mr. Denton, and was much pleased, about nine o'clock, to see her returning with Lieutenant Crawford and the sepoys, all safe. I had also the great additional gratification to learn from Lieutenant Crawford, that the appearance of the Panther standing into Arkeko Bay had produced, in the minds of the Nayib and his faithless and rapacious Ascari, the exact sensation and effect that I had hoped, and expected it would; and that it was not until she hove in sight, that they ceased to importune Mr. Salt for more money upon new pretences, to which every fresh instant gave birth.

On the 21st, I quitted Arkeko Bay to proceed to the Island of Dohul, where we had been informed that provisions and fresh water might be obtained. As we passed Massowah, I hove the vessel to, and sent an officer on shore in the cutter with a message to Currum Chund, respecting the anchor we had left in the harbour, and at the same time desired him to inform the Nayib that I should be back in six days, when I hoped to receive, without delay, Mr. Salt's dispatches for Lord Valentia from his hands, as I had not the least doubt of their arriving from Dixan by that time. Having received a satisfactory answer from Currum Chund, I proceeded on to Dohul, and anchored the Panther in safety off the N. W. side of it at sunset. Being informed by the islanders that the proper anchorage was on the east side of the island, and the account I had received at Massowah, "that plenty of horned cattle, sheep, and goats, with abundance of good water, might be procured at this place" being confirmed, we weighed anchor, and worked round the south side to the proper anchorage, where we came to in three fathom at

the distance of one and a quarter from the island. A spit of sand which runs off the south end of Dohul breaks the sea, and shelters the roads in some measure, in that direction, and a similar one to the northward protects it from the violence of the N. W. winds; but it would be dangerous riding here when the wind blows hard from any point on the eastern-board.

On our first coming among them, we found the inhabitants of this island, who in number did not exceed thirty grown persons, inoffensive, mild, and hospitable; and I was in hopes that my presents of rice, tobacco, and blue cloth, might have made them so much our friends, that they would have cheerfully supplied us with water, and such live stock as we wanted, at a reasonable price; that is to say, at the rates we had been accustomed to procure them, at Massowah. I was led however, very soon, to entertain a different opinion: for the islanders, in consequence of injunctions, no doubt brought from the Nayib by a boat which arrived here shortly after the Panther, entirely changed their conduct towards us; and from being very forward and willing to render us every service in their power, became quite the reverse, and seemed extremely desirous to get rid of us as soon as possible. In addition to this vexatious circumstance, I had the mortification to find that, in consequence of the long drought universally complained of in the Red Sea, the Dohul wells, which are, I believe, in number about twenty, several of which however were dry, could not supply us nearly so expeditiously as I wished and expected, with the large quantity of water we required to replenish our stock; I therefore determined upon going to Dhalac, where I was certain that we could, in two or three days, procure as much as we wanted.

After purchasing a few young goats, which are here, as well as at Valentia Island, excellent, I left Dohul on the 26th of July P. M.; but owing to contrary winds and threatening weather did not reach Nockara Roads, until the next day about noon, at which time it blew a hard gale from the westward. At five P. M. the wind began to veer round to the southward, and the weather to wear altogether so threatening an aspect, that I was induced to strike the lower yards and topmasts. This and every other possible precaution being taken, and all our anchors down, saved us, under God's providence, from shipwreck. Since I have been at sea, I never have in any vessel rode out a harder gale of wind at anchor; nor was I ever in my life at anchor on a lee-shore with so awful a prospect of inevitable destruction, had an accident happened to one of our cables. The gale continued with unabated violence from four P.M. of the 27th until ten A.M. of the 28th. During the whole of the night loud peals of thunder, vivid lightning, and a sea of fire, encreased the terrific horrors of our situation. Thanks be to God! we rode the storm out, which began to abate considerably about noon on the 28th; and in the evening Unus brought us off sixteen casks of water.

At five P. M. on the 30th, having replenished our stock of this article, we weighed and made sail for Massowah harbour, in which we anchored in safety a quarter before ten, A. M. on the 29th, and were fortunate enough, with the assistance of a diver, procured us by Unus, to recover the bow anchor we had parted from, and left behind us on the 20th.

Having learned that a kafila was arrived from Dixan, I applied to the Nayib to know whether letters had not come by it for

Lord Valentia; but received an answer that none had arrived. On the 31st, having gained intelligence from Unus that dispatches from Mr. Salt were certainly in the possession of the Nayib, I wrote to him by Unus to demand them, and to say that I would not wait any longer, but should proceed to Mocha, with or without them, and would there receive Lord Valentia's instructions how to act, in consequence of such wanton and unmerited perversity, but that I would leave Unus for forty-eight hours, in hopes that the Nayib would perceive the injustice of his conduct, and the unpleasant circumstances to which it must lead; and in consequence, be induced to send the letters by him.

By the assistance of a fair spirt of wind we got out of the harbour at eleven o'clock P. M.

On the 1st of August we found in the morning that we had been driven by the strong northerly currents in sight of Dohul. We beat against these currents and a strong S. E. wind for another twenty-four hours, and found ourselves in precisely the same situation on the following morning.

On the 2d, I had the pleasure of seeing Unus's dow leave the harbour of Massowah, and make directly for us. In a few hours he came on board, and delivered me letters from Mr. Salt, announcing his safe arrival at Dixan. For the six following days we beat against adverse winds and currents without being able to get round Hurroo point. At length we rounded it in the burst of a land gale from W. N. W. under a fore stay-sail, at midnight. We had afterwards a fair wind, and passed the Aroes at sun-set on the 10th.

At three o'clock on the 11th we were abreast of the town of

Mocha in nineteen fathom. At five it became so black and threatning over the land, that although in six fathom, we could see neither shipping nor town. Having no land mark to guide us, we erroneously supposed ourselves to be to the north of the town; but on the weather clearing, discovered that we were ten miles to the south of it. Trifling as was the distance, it was six days before we were able to beat up against the strong north-wester, which generally kept us under our close-reefed top sails. On the 16th we anchored in Mocha roads.

(Signed) CHARLES COURT.

END OF VOL. II.

Printed by W. Bulmer and Co.
Cleveland Row St. James's.

This day is published by WILLIAM MILLER, *Albemarle-street,*

Price Twenty-six Guineas,

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF, AND DEDICATED BY PERMISSION TO,

MARQUIS WELLESLEY,

TWENTY-FOUR VIEWS

IN

ST. HELENA, THE CAPE, INDIA, CEYLON, ABYSSINIA, AND EGYPT,

From Drawings made by HENRY SALT, Esq. during his Travels with LORD VALENTIA.

The following are the Subjects:

1. Sandy Bay Valley, St. Helena.
2. Roode Sand Pass, Cape of Good Hope.
3. Calcutta.
4. Fort Monghyr.
5. Juanpore on the River Goomtee.
6. Lucknow.
7. Mosque at Lucknow.
8. View near the Point de Galle, Ceylon.
9. Pagoda at Ramiseram.
10. Pagoda at Tanjore.
11. Trinchicunum.
12. Riacotta in the Baramahal.
13. Poonah.
14. Ancient Excavations at Carli.
15. Town of Dixan, Abyssinia.
16. Town of Abha, Abyssinia.
17. View near the Village of Asceriah, Abyssinia.
18. Muccullah, Abyssinia.
19. Pass at Atbara, Abyssinia.
20. Obelisk at Axum.
21. Mountains of Samayut.
22. Vale of Calaat.
23. View of Grand Cairo.
24. Pyramids, &c. at Cairo.

This Set of Views is intended to add a further and more complete Illustration to LORD VALENTIA'S TRAVELS. They are engraved in the same size, and style, as MR. DANIELL'S Series of Oriental Scenery, being 24 by 17 Inches, excepting the two Egyptian Views (No. 23 and 24), which are considerably larger. The Plates are carefully coloured, to imitate the Original Drawings; each is mounted, and the whole are placed in an interleaved Atlas portfolio. A quarto Pamphlet, containing a short descriptive account of each View, accompanies the set.

PART
OF
Chart of the
RED SEA
ON WHICH IS DELINEATED THE AFRICAN & ARABIAN COASTS
from Salaka and Hodali
TO SUEZ.
AD 1804 5.
ARABIA
AFRICA
GULF OF ARABIA
Mount Sinai
Cape Berry
Ambrose I.
Zebayer I.
Tor
Suez

ARABIA
RED SEA
Hanish I.
Jebel Zukur
Kamaran
Hodeida
Mocha
Aseeree I.
Hassani I.
Loheia
Jebel Mawr
Jebel Marrow
Jebel Sabber
Jebel Sabber P.
Ras el Sabber
Ras el Sabber or Cape Bunder
Ras el Hadjar
Ras el Jebel
Jebel Mawr or Diamond I.
Jebel Sabber I.
Jebel Sabber I.
Jebel Sabber or the Peak Island
Jebel Sabber or the Peak Island
Jebel Sabber or the Peak Island

00042643

V
910.4
Wallyoy
42643
0

Digitized with financial assistance from
Observer Research Foundation
on 17 May, 2019